STUDIES IN SAIVISM



INSTITUTE OF ORISSAN CULTURE

BHUBANESWAR, ORISSA

Studies in
SAIVISM

Edited by

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National Seminar on Saivism in Orissa

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Dr. K. C. Mishra

Om Namaḥ Sivāya, Swastyastu.

Hon'ble Governor of Orissa, Sj. Yagyadatta Sharma, Revered Minsiter Sj. Sarat Kumar Kar, Sj. Prof. Dr. Manmath Nath Das, Scholar-delegates, Ladies and gentlemen. The Institute of Orissan Culture gratefully accords you a hearty welcome to our two-day National Seminar on Śaivism in Orissa held in this State Capital city, Bhubaneswar – the *Ekāmra Kṣetra* famed in the *Purānas* as a unique Śaivite Centre in India.

We are privileged today to have in our midst our Hon'ble Governor Dr. Sharma and our Minister for Culture Sj. Kar who have kindly consented to grace the Inaugural Session of the Seminar. Your valued presence and guidance, Sirs, will certainly help the Institute march ahead in realising its cherished goal. You will kindly permit me to inform the august house that within the short span of its inception, hardly eight years, the Institute has to its credit organised similar Seminars on Jayadev, the poet of Orissa, the *Rāmāyana* in Eastern India, Studies on the *Bhāgavat* with special reference to Jagannath Dash, the *Mahābhārat* with special reference to Śūdra Muni Sāralā Dash, and the Cult of Jagannath. All learned papers presented in the seminar have been edited and published in book-form by the Institute. The book on the Cult of Jagannath is awaiting publication soon. At the moment, the Institute has taken up two bold projects; Compilation of Tribal Culture in Orissa – a linguistic study with a critical anthology of tribal festivals, songs, rites, etc., and the other, a very challenging endeavour is the compilation of a lexicon – a Saurā Dictionary in four languages with phonetic transcriptions. Though the Institute feels shy not to have a room of its own or necessary equipment for housing a library or office, it has never abandoned its research activities. Given proper incentive and opportunity, the Institute will never shirk to

bring into light works of similar sort for the benefit of learned scholars which will ultimately boost up our quest for truth and socio-cultural interaction.

In fact, we attach greater importance to the learned discourses by our eminent scholar-delegates who have come here from different parts of India. Such deliberations open up new horizons by providing novel ideas, concepts and interpretations which are necessary for a revaluation and reassessment of what we already knew. The present Seminar, **Śaivism in Orissa,** is an interesting aspect of our religious belief. While proclaiming affinity to the pan-Indian Śaiva tradition, the Seminar shall try to find out to what extent the Śaivites in Orissá have joined the main-stream or moved on to a new track. No doubt, Orissa occupies a dominant place in the religious map of India. Shrines of Lord Jagannath at Puri, Lord Surya at Konark, the Black Pagoda of the East, Lord *Krttivāsa* or Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar, *Devī Virajā* at Jajpur, two monumental shrines of *Chausathi Yogini* at Hirapur and Ranipur-Jharial, the Elephant Cave rock edicts at Dhauli, the Buddhistic remains at Lalitagiri, the Mahavir and Jaina Caves at Khandagiri, the Mahima Monastery of a later period at Dhenkanal, the *Nātha* establishments, etc. give ample testimony to the variant faiths once nurtured in the soil of Orissa. Geographically, Orissa is the meeting point of the North and the South India. It has struck a strategic synthesis of various cults and faiths.

Unlike its counterparts, Orissa presents a synthetic religious tradition. We have enough evidence of *Śakta* and *Vaisnav*-oriented Śaivism in Orissa. Sanskrit texts like *Kapila Saṁhitā, Ekamra Candrikā, Ekāmra Purāna, Svarnādri Mahodaya,* etc. highlight the Śaiva faith. Śiva temples in Orissa are more in number than other temples, and they display enviable architectural splendours. Even, the Ekāmra Kshetra, Bhubaneswar which is supposed to have housed one crore Śiva *Lingams* has been verily an architectural Museum for tourists and researchers. Each antique-looking stone on the pavement of this city or in the surrounding suburb is supposed to have been a consecrated part of some Śaiva monument. A careful study of the divergent architectural patterns as embedded in the Śaiva shrines may throw new lights on the different schools of Śaivism as flourished in India in different periods of history. A lot of epigraphical records may also help us in this regard. Schools centering round *Hari Hara* or *Hari Śankar, Asta Śaṁbhu, Naṭarāj, Candra Śekhar, Bhairavas* including *Aja Ekapāda, Kapāla Bhairava* and various forms of *Lakuliśa, Ardha-Nārīśvara, Bhiksāṭana Śiva,* Inscribed *Lingam,* etc. are all found

intermingling with the fabric of Śiva worship in Orissa. *Lingams* are found here both in minicule and massive forms. Rituals practised in Śiva temples in Orissa also narrate interesting tales of cultural assimilation. One notices them during the *Śiva Vivāha* (Marriage of Śiva), *Harihara bheta* (the meeting of Hari and Hara), the Car Festival of Śiva during *Aśokaṣṭamī*, etc. In this connection, Scholars' attention is drawn to the Praci valley where one finds at every bend a temple in honour of *Śiva Sakti*. The whole valley has been replete with Saiva shrines. One cannot miss the Mount Kapilasa situated at Dhenkanal which is a famous Śaiva shrine. Our learned delegates will deal with these different aspects more exhaustively. This will go a long way in enriching the Indian Culture in general and Orissan Culture in particular. Any discourse on religious faith is bound to remain incomplete and inadequate because of personalized approach to it on one hand and regimented and regional variations on the other. Ancestral prescriptions and social prohibitions at times regulate our faith and effect a kind of ambivalence in our religious pursuit. Innocent realization of godhood is often strayed away to fanaticism and militancy. Modern India today, needs no more installation of shrines. What we have, we have more than enough. What we need urgently is the monument of Faith, Tolerance and Truth, as have been revealed in genuine scriptures and iconographic manifestations. Truth is the Universal Essence—the Śiva of our Faith we crave to adhere to Temples, Mosques, Gurudwaras, Āśrams and Vihāras—all aim at reasserting this basic tenet, i.e., the adherance to Truth in a spirit of tolerance and not in a divisive spree. A follower of Śaivism joyfully chants *Śivohaṁ*—I am *Śiva*, I am the committed, the Resolute one and I am the Truth. Such realisation shall help us resolve many a tangled issue of our life and the Nation as well.

Sivarpanamastu

Vedic Foundation of Saivism

T. N. Dharmadhikari*

It is generally held that Hinduism of which Śaivism forms one of the important sects, owes its origin to pre-Vedic, non-aryan Indus or pre-Indus religion, supposed to be characterised by iconolatry and that Vedism incidentally occured more or less like an interlude, leaving influence of flimsy character over Hinduism with its avowed allegiance. On the other hand, the reflections of earlier Hinduism could be found mirrored in Vedism.

This conjecture, especially in case of Śaivism, is based mainly on a seal discovered at Mahenjodaro-depicting a three-faced nude male figure, having horns, seated on a stool, in so-called Yogic posture, with penis erectus, surrounded by a few animals, etc. Though the inscription of six or seven syllables appearing on the top of the seal cannot be satisfactorily explained, it is connected by some scholars with Śiva of classical Hinduism.

Some scholars would identify this seal with a later representation of Buddha, while others with the three-headed *tvāṣṭra viśvarūpa*. There are a few more theories on the identity of this seal.

In this state of affairs, we have to examine as to what reflections of Śaivism, if it is earlier, have been mirrored in the Vedic interlude, which may now form the Vedic foundation of Śaivism.

In earlier Vedic hymns the word 'ŚIVA' is used not as a proper noun of any deity, but as an attribute to more than one deity. It is stated that in the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā*[1] (3.63) the word Siva occurs as a proper name of a deity. However, according to the tradition preserved by Kātyāyana,[2] 5.2.17 which is based on *Śataptha Brāhmaṇa*[3], 2.6.2.19, the word ŚIVA in this formula is addressed to a razor utilised for sacrificer's shaving and not to any deity.

The tribes named Viṣāninaḥ and Śivāsaḥ are referred to, side by side in Ṛgveda[4] vii.18.6, as being antagonist to Sudās and Bharata in Dāśarājñā war. If it is tenable that Śiva as a name of a deity is earlier

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to the name of a tribe viz, Śivāsaḥ, this verse may suggest the existence of Śiva cult, contemporary to Sudās and Bharata of Ṛgveda.

The term Viṣāṇinaḥ meaning – bearing horns – is also connected by some scholars with the Indus image decorated with horns. These two terms taken together therefore may suggest that the tribes following the Śiva-cult may be using the horns for decoration.

Besides stray references to Rudra, there are about six *sūktas*[5] in Ṛgveda which are exclusively or partly devoted to Rudra. One *sūkta* is devoted to Soma and Rudra, wherein Rudra is held as a fierce God. However, 'He' combines in Himself the malevolent as well as benevolent, terrific and pacific, demonic and angelic aspects. It is held that but for his healing aspect he could have hardly been accepted as a God.

The *'Muni-sūkta'*[6] of the Ṛgveda again shows the ascetic-yogic atmosphere and may be related to Śaivite tradition of Yoga.

The term *Siśnadevāḥ*[7] appearing in the Ṛgveda may be taken to be related to the tribes worshipping phallus. The term according to Sāyaṇa may however refer to such persons as are always indulged in sexual pleasure, not practising celibacy.

The Purāṇas are regarded to be propounders of different sects of Hinduism. It is also believed that the Purānas established some links with the Vedic mythology. The maxim viz, *Itihāsa – purāṇābhyāṁ Vedaṁ Samupabṛṁhayet'* – therefore came into existence. The Śaiva Purāṇas may therefore help us in establishing such relations with the Vedas in regard to foundation of Śaivism in Vedic literature.

Out of many Śaiva Purāṇas, we may here, by way of specimen, refer to Kūrma Purāṇa only for our purpose.

Kūrma-Purāṇa narrates the story of Suśila,[8] a son of Śikhaṇḍin. Suśila happens to meet a *mahāmuni* named Śvetāśvatara – the best of Mahā-Pāśupata, besmeared with ashes, who narrated to his disciple the lore saturated with Vedic knowledge for releasing the *paśu-pāśas*, Śvetaśvatara Muni said – 'Oh Yogins, having studied the Vedic school patronaged by me, contemplate on Niṣkala Śiva and reach Mahādeva. Here the Purāṇa clearly refers to the Upaniṣad named after Śvetāśvatara, as a Yogic source of Śaivism in which the concepts of the divine figure are found culminated. Śvetāśvatara - Up. VI. 21 also collaborates this view Śvetāśvatara[9] knew Brahman through penance and through grace of God; and delivered the knowledge to *atyāśramīs*.

According to Śaivagāma, the *anugraha* or grace is one of the eternal activities of Śiva. Śvetāśvatara here refers to Devaprasāda — God's grace. In its last verse[10] also this Upaniṣad refers to the God's grace revealing the illumination, saying —

He who has the highest faith in God,
Just as in God, so also in the teacher,
to him who is high-minded
these teachings will be illuminating.

According to Caraṇvyūha, the Śvetāśvatara School belongs to Krsna Yajurveda. It is an important Upanisad which Śaṅkārācārya has commented upon. Like *Śvetāśvatra, Kaṭhopaniṣad*[11] expressly states that *Ātmā* cannot be attained by learning, by instructions and by intelligence. To him alone, it reveals its subtle form whom it chooses.

It may also be noted that *Kaṭha* in this regard refers to *dhātuprasāda*,[12] while *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, to *Jñānaprasāda*.[13]

I may be allowed to draw the attention of scholars to the commentary of Śrīmat-Śaṅkarācārya on Br. Sū. 3.25, where he clearly admits the grace of God in this context. He states — [14]Just as when the power of sight withdrawn owing to cataract is restored with the potency of medicine, even so, only to some rare being whose spiritual darkness has been removed by the discipline of meditation and who has attained fulfillment through the grace of God, the realization is restored.

Activity is regarded by the Śaivites as not an adjunct of Īśvara but his specific nature[15]. His activity is summed up in the five-fold act of *Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Saṁhāra, Vilaya* and *Anugraha*. According to this theory, Īśvara is not inactive, activity belongs to Him and *Māyā* derives its activity from Him. *Māyā* is the power of *Deva*[16] which measures out the phenomenon in definite form. *Māyā* is not an illusion but His creative power. That is why *Śvetāśvatara Up.*[17] equates *Māyā* with *Prakṛti*.

The five faces of Śiva reveal these five-fold activities. The faces are given the mythological names, viz. *Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa* and *Īśāna*. The Mantras related to all these five faces of Śiva are collected in TĀ X. 43-47.[18]

In the introduction to his *Bhāṣya* on this *anuvāka* Sāyaṇa states — '*mahādevasambandhiṣu Pañcavaktreṣu madhye...*' etc. Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara also remarks — *Sadyojātanāmānipañcavidyāpravartakāni*.

Besides the above formulas TĀ X.18 also collects the formulas wherein Rudra is referred to as Ambikāpati and Umāpati.[19]

It may, however, be noted that TS I. 8.6[20] refers to *ambikā* as a *svasṛ* of Rudra or Tryambaka.

Kenopaniṣad, 3.3.12 mentions Haimavatī Umā[21] ... i.e. Uma, the daughter of Himavat.

On *Pañcavaktra* theory, Prof. J. Gonda[22] states – 'In course of time, these five faces were made the central element of a classification in which they were identified with parts of Śiva's body, ontological principles, the organs of sense and action, the subtle and gross elements, etc. Each of Śiva's faces corresponds to or is identical with one of the components of the five groups, which according to the *Sāṅkhya* school of thought constitute the 26 principles (*Tattvas*). This system is an attempt to explain Śiva being the All and the Universe being exclusively composed of aspects and manifestation of God. The five faces are collectively known as the *Pañca Brahmas*[23] and moreover are associated with the five *Sadākhyas* i.e. items bearing the name 'being', 'sat' – which are assumed to have evolved from God's five-fold creative energy, dynamic and sacred power (Śakti) and in which He dwells in his aspect called Sadāśiva the Eternal Śiva;[24] the most supreme Being.

Vide TA X.47 – ब्रह्म शिवो मे अस्तु सदाशिवोम् ।

Cūlikopaniṣad or *Cūḍikopaniṣad*, otherwise called as *Māntrikopaniṣad*, according to Paul Deussen, 'may have found its place at a time when the theistic Yoga developed out of the Sāṅkhya doctrine, which had not still been finalised systematically and would be of a special value as a proof of transition'. The Atharvanic tradition of Śaivism in its Brahmacārī and Vrātyā Sūktas have been clearly referred to by this Upaniṣad. It states – [25]As Brahman in esoteric lores: of Mantras in a series of words – Him proclaim the Atharvans, the top-most sons of Bhṛgu as Bhahmacārī, as Vrātya, as Skambha and as Palita (grey with hair), as *anaḍvān* (bull) ... Him proclaim the Bhṛgu work ... as Śarva, Bhava and Rūdra... In the prescriptions coupled with aphorisms of Atharvans, the Lord is praised.' Atharvaveda XI.5 constitutes the Bhrahmacārisūkta, the 12th formula of which is supposed to symbolically point to the penis[26] erectus character of Śiva, a Yogin.

Out of these; Vrātya sūkta in Atharvan is very important.

Vrātya is defined as a man of a mendicant class or one who has not undergone the initiation of *saṁskāras*. However, in AV-Vrātya Sūkta, Vrātya may be reckoned as one of the many forms in which the highest Brahman is celebrated. In the beginning, the Vrātya sūkta states

[27]'There was a vratya, just going about, stirred up Prajapati. Prajapati saw in himself Gold. He generated that. That became one.... that became great, that became chief, that became Brahman — therewith he had progeny. He increased, He became great, He became *Mahadeva*... He compassed the Lordship of Gods. He became Isana... He became the sole Vratya.'

The *agamas,*[28] as cited by Sayana, declare that Siva is revealed in 8 forms viz, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Rudra, Bhava, Isvara, Mahadeva and Bhima.

In AV XV.5 (Vratya Sukta) the seven out of [29]eight forms of Isvara are referred to.

These AV-Vratya hymns record the then prevailing religious practices in which yoga plays an important role.

This is the mythology of Mahadeva as depicted in the Vratya Suktas of AV.

It is interesting to note here, the remarks of Sayana in his introduction to Vratya Sukta. He states - [30]all that has been narrated in the Vratya sukta, does not refer to a Vratya i.e. one who has not undergone the *Upanayana samskara* and consequently is not included in the Vedic discipline, but refers to a great pious philosopher reckoned by all, but hated by those Brahmins who are eternally indulged in performing sacrifices (with desires).

Similarly in AV XI.2.5[31] at least six out of eight names of Śiva have been referred to.

Further *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* narrates a mythology which accounts for the 8 names of Rudra - identified with Agni. [32]A son was born to Samvâtsara and Uṣas. He cried. Prajāpati said to him - why do you cry? He said - I have no name given to me - give me a name. Prajapati said to him — Thou art Rudra... Śarva ... Paśupati ... Ugra ... Aśani ... Bhava, Mahādeva and Īśāna ... These then are the eight forms of Agni. *Śatapatha Br.* clearly states that these eight forms are related to Agni. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* also tries to equate the concept of Rudra with Agni.[33] It may be noted that Agni here, not only means the sacrificial fire, but the pile of Uttaravedi in 5 or more layers, constructed at the north of Vedi.

Pt. Laxmaṇāshāstri Joshi, in his *Introduction to Dharmakośa* (Upaniṣad Kāṇḍa Vol. I) states that [34]some of the numerous shapes of the fire altar bear a resemblance to the *Linga*. The altar of the Nāciketa-rite,

in particular is *Liṅga*-shaped... and that there is ample ground to infer that the altar construction was a source of some features of Śaivism.

Regarding Nāciketa Cayana, TBr. states that Prajāpati piled a Nāciketa *citi*, with a desire to become eldest of all, to obtain fame and to obtain progeny *(Prajanana)*. Further it states that the *Prajanana*[35] is three-fold, viz. male virile power, the female organ of generation and her womb. This is a typical symbol of Divine Procreative.. Energy, suggesting the Liṅga and Yoni worship, Śiva and Śakti or Purusa and Prakriti worship.

It may be noted that besides few *prāpāṭhakas* devoted to Agnicayana in TBr., and TĀ, the Taittiriya school has devoted two *kāṇḍas* (out of seven) to Agnicayana in its *saṁhitā*. In fact all the Yajurvedic schools attach great importance to the Agnicayana.

The chapters of famous *Śatarudrīya* and *Vaśordhārā*, otherwise known as *namaka* and *camaka adhyāyas*, have been included in *Agni* sections of all Yajurvedic schools. The concept of Rudra-Śiva is a much discussed topic and the writers on this topic have mostly drawn from Agnikāṇḍa, especially Śatarudrīya of Yajurvedic schools. I shall therefore put up the quintessence of Śatarudrīya, only in a nut-shell.

Śatarudrīya mentions Śiva with more than hundred names, including Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, Paśupati, Ugra, Bhīma, Śiva, etc., and in many forms including Vrāta and Vrātapati.

Agnicayana explicitly reveals two forms of Agni - Rudra[36] i.e. dreadful and Śiva i.e. auspicious. By Śatarudrīya offering, his dreadful form is soothed and by Vaśordharā offering his auspicious form is propitiated.

It is very apparent that Śarva, Rudra, Ugra and Aśani or Bhima are terrific forms while Bhava, Paśupati, Mahādeva and Īśana are pacific forms.

Bṛhad-jābālopaniṣad professes that Agni[37] and Soma have transformed in the form of Universe. The Rūdra, the terrific form of *Tejas* i.e. Agni or Sūrya and the Soma, the pacific form are related to water and wind respectively. Thus it tries to explain that the Rūdra and Śiva forms taken together may indicate the ever-creative nature of the Universe.

Atharvaśīras[38] and *Jābāla Upaniṣads* give in detail the Śaivite practices of besmearing the body with ashes and wearing Rudrākṣa ... .. etc.

The concept of the composite form of Śiva and Sūrya is found in Śaivism. The following mantra in TS IV.5.1 envisages this concept.

असौ यस्ताम्रो अरुण उत बभ्रुः सुमङ्गलः ...
असौ योवसर्पति नीलग्रीवो विलोहितः ।
उतैनं गोपा अदृशन्नदृशन्नुदहार्यः ॥ ... ... etc.

(The red and pink, the brownish and auspicious, who creeps away, blue-necked and ruddy; Him the cowherds have seen, Him the ladies carrying water-jars have seen. Him all the creatures have seen. He, thus seen, be gentle to us.)

Urdha-retastva (i.e. keeping the Semen above, living in chastity – MW) and *Virūpākṣatva* (having eyes in odd numbers) are well known characteristics of Śiva. The following verse of TĀ x.12 forms this picture of Śiva –

(ऋतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम्)
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं विश्वरूपाय वै नमः ॥

(Our homage to cosmic law, the ultimate Truth, the transcending Brahman, the Universal man, blackish and brown–keeping his semen above being a Yogin – having odd eyes, taking universal forms).

Cp - Sāyaṇa on this verse – तादृशं ब्रह्म स्वभक्तानुग्रहाय उमा-महेश्वरात्मकं पुरुषरूपं भवति । तत्र दक्षिणे महेश्वरभागे कृष्णवर्णः । उमाभागे वामे पिङ्गलवर्णः स च योगेन स्वकीयं रेतो ब्रह्मरन्ध्रे धृत्वा ऊर्ध्वरेता भवति । त्रिनेत्रत्वाद् विरूपाक्षः । ... ... etc.

Sāyaṇa thus clearly sees in this verse the concept of *Ardha-nārīśvara* character of Śiva.

Thus Saivism in its Rudra form and Yogic form is found reflected in Ṛgveda. Yajurvedic Śatarudrīya provides a new starting point, revealing the Agni with its two forms, viz, Rudra and Śiva. The TĀ and Śatapatha shed light on five faces and eight *mūrtis* of Rudra-Śiva. Atharvaveda may be regarded as an amalgam of two stratas of society viz. classes and masses, representing a transitional stage between the Rudra and systematic philosophy of Śaivism as culminated in *Śvetāśvatara* and *Bṛhadjābāla*. The later Upaniṣads like Atharvaśiras and Jābāla give in details some particular characteristics of Śaivism viz. *Bhasma-dhāraṇa* and *Rudrakṣa* etc.

To sum up : all these extensively cited Vedic references from the Ṛgveda to the Upaniṣads may suggest that the religion and philosophy of Śaivism has its deep foundation in Vedic literature. The scholars however are free to maintain that Śaivism owes its origin to pre-Vedic

non-āryan Indus Civilisation. But in that case one needs to employ more care while connecting it to the Indus seals, particularly when the pictographs of them still remain to be satisfactorily deciphered and chronology is not beyond doubt.

While interpreting and identifying the Indus seals with Śiva, his Vedic and puranic iconographical characteristics viz. bearing bow and shafts[39], wearing *upavīta*[40] having blackish neck[41] and golden arms[42] and Yellowish braided and knotted hair[43] etc., may also be well considered.

It may however be noted that a verse from the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*,[44] (which may be a later interpolation) states that ŚIVA is antecedent to Devas, Asuras and Ṛṣis; This suggests that God ŚIVA was worshipped even before the Ṛṣis, the poets of the Vedas.

Foot Notes

1. शिवो नामासि.
2. शिवो नामेति लोहक्षुरमादाय
3. अथ केशश्मश्रूप्त्वा
4. आ पवयासो भलानसो भनन्तालिनासो विषाणिनः शिवासः।
   आ योऽनयत् सधमाः आर्यस्य गव्या तृत्सुभ्य अजगन युधा नृन्।।
5. Rg I.43/I, 114/II.33 /8.42 /VII.46 / (VII.59.12)
6. Rg 8.136.3, उन्मादिता मौनेयेन वातो आ तस्थिमा वयम् ।
   शरीरेदमस्माकं यूयं मर्तासो अभिपश्यथ ।।
7. RV. VII.21.5. मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुः ऋतं नः।
   X.99.3 घ्नन् शिश्नदेवान् अभि वर्पसा भूत -
   Cp. Sayana on Vii.21.5 - शिश्नेन दीव्यन्ति क्रीडन्त इति
   शिश्नदेवाः। अब्रह्मचर्या इत्यर्थः।
   On Rg X.99.3 शिश्नदेवान् अब्रह्मचर्यान्।
   Cp. Yaska IV.19. शिश्नदेवा अब्रह्मचर्याः।
8. शिखण्डिनोऽभवत् पुत्रः सुशील इति क विश्रुतः
   Kūrma Purāṇa I.13.22.

   अथास्मिन्नन्तरेऽपश्यन् समायान्तं महामुनिम् । श्वेताश्वतरं - नामानं महापाशुपतोत्तमम्। भस्मसंद्ग्धसर्वाङ्गं ... ददौ तदैश्वरं ज्ञानं स्वशाखाविहितं व्रतम्। अशेषवेदसारं तत् पशु पाश-विमोचनम्।। ... मया प्रवर्तितां शाखामधीत्यैवेह योगिनः। समासते महादेवं ध्यायन्तो निष्कलं शिवम्।

9. तपःप्रभावात् दैवप्रसादाच्च ब्रह्म ह श्वेताश्वतरोऽथ विद्वान्।
अत्याश्रमिभ्यः परमं पवित्रं प्रोवाच सम्यक् ऋषिसंघजुष्टम्।।

10. यस्य देवे पराभक्तिः यथा देवे तथा गुरौ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः।।

11. नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः न मेधया न बहुधा श्रुतेन।
यमैवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यः तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम्।।-Kath.Up.2.28

12. अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयानात्माऽस्य जन्तोर्निहितो गुहायाम्।
तमक्रतुः पश्यति वीतशोको धातुप्रसादान्महिमाननात्मनः।।-Kaṭh Up.2.20.

13. न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नाऽपि वाचा नान्यैर्देवैः तपसा कर्मणा वा ।
ज्ञानप्रसादेन विशुद्धसत्त्वः ततस्तु तं पश्यते निष्कलं ध्यायमानः।।

14. तत् पुनः तिरोहितं परमेश्वरम् अभिध्यायतः यजमानस्य जन्तोः विधूतध्वान्तस्य तिमिरतिरस्कृतेव दृकशक्तिः औषधवीर्यात् ईश्वरप्रसादात् संसिद्धस्य कस्यचित् आविर्भवति।।

15. तथा हि परमेश्वरस्य अयमेव असाधारणस्वभावो यत् सर्वदा सृष्ट्यादिपञ्चकारित्वम्। एतदनङ्गीकारात् मायावेदान्तादिनिर्णीतस्य आत्मनः स्वस्फुरणामोदमान्धलक्षणम् असत्कल्पत्वम् आपतितम्।
– महार्थमञ्जरी p.52 – by महेश्वरान्द.

16. देवात्मशक्तिं स्वगुणैर्निगूढाम्। - श्वे.उ. - I.3

17. मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम्। - श्वे. उ., 4.10

18. सद्यो जातं प्रपद्यामि सद्यो जाताय वै नमः।
भवे भवे नातिभवे भजस्व मां भवोद्भवाय नमः।

– वामदेवाय नमो ज्येष्ठाय नमः श्रेष्ठाय नमो रुद्राय नमः
कालाय नमः कलविकरणाय नमो बलविकरणाय नमो
बलप्रमथनाय नमः सर्वभूतदमनाय नमो मनोन्मनाय नमः।

– अधोरेभ्योऽथ घोरेभ्यो घोरघोरतरेभ्यः।
सर्वतः शर्व सर्वेभ्यो नमस्ते अस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः।
तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे महादेवाय धीमहि तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात्।
ईशानः सर्वविद्यानामीश्वरः ब्रह्माधिपतिः ब्रह्मणोऽधिपतिः ब्रह्म शिवो मे अस्तु सदाशिवोहम्।

19. नमो हिरण्यबाहवे हिरण्यपतयेऽम्बिकापतये उमापतये नमः।

20. एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राऽम्बिकया सह - Cp. Sāyaṇa
स्वस्रा भगिनीवद्धितकारिण्या अम्बिकया पार्वत्या सह । - Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.
स्वात्मानं सरति भजते इति स्वसा देहार्धभूता।

21. बहुशोभमानामुमां हैमवतीम्।

22. Jan Gonda - *A History of Indian Literature* (p.15.7) Śaivism.

23. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara on TĀ X 43 (VI.43) पञ्चब्रह्मारण्याः पञ्चानुवाकाः। ... पञ्चविद्यास्त्रोतःप्रवर्तकस्तदीय - पञ्चमुखभूतानि पञ्चब्रह्माणि ...।

24. TA X 47 ब्रह्म शिवो मे अस्तु सदाशिवोह्म्।

25. मन्त्रोपनिषदं ब्रह्म पदक्रमसमन्वितम्। पठन्ति मार्गवा ह्येते ह्यर्वाणो मृगूत्तमाः। स ब्रह्मचारी व्रात्यश्च स्कम्भोऽथ पलितस्तथा। अनड्वान् रोहितोच्छिष्टः ...। कालः प्राणश्च भगवान् मन्युः शर्वो भवश्च रुद्रश्च ...। स्तूयते मन्त्रसंस्तुत्यैरथर्वविदितैर्विभुः। ... अथर्वशिरसो विदुः। ... etc. 10-23.

26. अभिक्रन्दन् स्तनयन् अरुण शितिङ्गाः
बृहच्छेपो नु भूमौ जभार ।
ब्रह्मचारी सिञ्चति सानो रेतः
पृथिव्यां तेन जीवन्ति प्रदिशश्चतस्त्रः।।

Tr :-- Roaring and thundering, the ruddy white goer has introduced in the earth, a great virile member, the vedic student pours seed upon the surface of the earth, by that live the four directions.

27. AV.XX.i-6- व्रात्य आसीदीयमान एव सः प्रजापतिं समैरयत्। स प्रजापतिः सुवर्णमात्मन्नपश्यत्। तत् प्राजनयत्। सोवर्धत स महानभवत् स महादेव अभवत्। स देवानामीशां पर्यैत् स ईशानोऽभवत्। स एकव्रात्योऽभवत् ...। etc.

28. Sāyaṇa on AV XI 2.1 अष्टमूर्तिर्महादेवः प्रार्थ्यते। ताश्च परमैश्वर्यां मूर्तय आगमिकैरेवमनुक्रान्ताः। शर्वं पशुपतिं चोग्रं रुद्रं भवमयेश्वरम्। महादेवं च भीमं च इति।

29. Cp. भव एनमिष्वासः रुद्र एनमिष्वासः शर्व एनमिष्वासः
महादेव एनमिष्वासः पशुपतिरेनमिष्वासः ईशान एनमिष्वासः
उग्र एनमिष्वासः ...।

30. अत्र काण्डे व्रात्यमहिमा प्रपञ्च्यते । व्रात्यो नाम उपनयनादिसंस्कारहीन पुरुषः। सोऽर्थात् वेदविहिताः यज्ञादिक्रियाः कर्तुं नाधिकारी। न स व्यवहारयोग्यश्चेत्यादि जनमतमनादृत्य व्रात्योऽधिकारी व्रात्यो महानुभावः व्रात्यो देवप्रियः व्रात्यो ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोर्वर्चसोर्मूलं, किं बहुना व्रात्यो देवाधिदेवः एवेति प्रतिपाद्यते। ... न पुनरेतत् सर्वं व्रात्यपरं प्रतिपादनम् अपि तु किंचित् विद्वत्तमं महाधिकारं पुण्यशीलं विश्वसंमान्यं विश्वसंमान्यं कर्मपरैर्ब्राह्मणैः विद्विष्टं व्रात्यमनुलक्ष्य वचनम् इति मन्तव्यम्।

31. ... भवाशर्वो मृडतं माभि यातं भूतपती पशुपती नमो वाम् - XI.2.1.
भवाय च शर्वाय चोमाभ्यामकरं नमः - XI.2.16.
– पशुपते वयांसि ते विद्यसे मा विन्दत XI.2.2

Also मुखाय ते पशुपते ... XI.2.5;
पशुपते नमस्ते XI.2.9.
नमस्ते रुद्र कृण्मः ... XI.2.3, Vide XI.2.12, 15,
...नवेदमुग्र उर्वन्तरिक्षम् XI.2.10.
...भीमं रथं केशिनः पादयन्तम् - XI.2.18 (सायण ... भीमं एतत्संज्ञकं रुद्रम्)

32. संवत्सरे कुमारोऽजायत सोऽरोदीत्। तं प्रजापतिरब्रवीत्, कुमार किं रोदिषि। ... सो ब्रवीत् ... अस्मि अहितनामानाम् मे धेहीति। तमब्रवीत् रुद्रोऽसीति। ... सर्वोऽसीति ... पशुपतिरसीति ... उग्रोऽसीति ... अशनिरसीति ... भवोसीति ... महादेवोऽसीति ... ईशनोऽसीति। तान्येतान्यष्टौ अग्निरुपाणि। SBr. VI.1.3.8-16

33. Cp रुद्रो वा एष यदग्निः। TS 5.4.3.

34. Pg. 20-21.

35. TBr. III.11.9 - अथ हैनं प्रजापतिर्ज्यैष्ठाकामो यशस्कामः प्रजननकामः। त्रिवृतमेव चिक्ये। ... त्रिवृत्प्रजननम्। उपस्थो योनिर्मध्यमा। Sayana. प्रजोत्पादनसामर्थ्यं लक्षणमपि प्रजननं त्रिगुणम्। उपस्थ इन्द्रियशक्तिः। योनिः स्त्रीलिङ्गाम्। मध्यमा गर्भधारण स्थानम्। ...

36. TS 5.7.3.9 - रुद्रो वा एष यदग्निः तस्यैते तनुःवौ घोराऽन्या शिवाऽन्या यत् शतरुद्रीयं जुहोति यैवास्य घोरा तनूस्तां शमयति यद्वसोर्धारां जुहोति यैवस्य शिवा तनुः तां तेन प्रीणाति।

37. अग्नीसोमात्मकं विश्वमित्यग्निराचक्षते । रौद्री घोरा या तैजसी तनुः सोमः शक्त्यमृतमयः शक्तिकरी तनूः। द्विविधा तैजसी वृत्तिः सूर्यात्मा चानिलात्मिका। ... शिवश्चोर्ध्वमयः शक्तिः उर्ध्वशक्तिमयः शिवः। तदित्थं शिवशक्तिम्यां नाभ्याप्रमित किंचन।। BRj. Up. 2.1-9

38. यस्मात् व्रतमिदं पाशुपतम्। यद्भस्मनाङ्गांनि संस्पृशेत् तस्मात् ब्रह्म तदेतत् पाशुपतं पशुपाशविमोक्षणाय Atharvasira Up.

39. TS IV.5.1 - नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यव उतो त इषवे नमः।
नमस्ते अस्तु धन्वये ...। TS IV.5.3 --
नमो निषङ्गिंण इषुधिमते ...। Cp TS IV.5.7 etc.

40. TS IV 5.2 - नमो हरिकेशाय उपवीतिने ...।

41. TS IV 5.6 - नमो नीलग्रीवाय च शितिकण्ठाय च।

42. TS IV 5.2 - नमो हिरण्यबाहवे

43. TS IV 5.5 - नमः कपर्दिने च व्युप्तदेशाय
IV.5.2 - नमो हरिकेशाय ...।

44. Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā II.7.1 देवानां च ऋणिणां च असुराणां च पूर्वजम्। महादेवं सहस्त्राक्षं शिवमावाह्याम्यहम्।।

Salient Features of Saiva Siddhanta

V.A. Devasenapathi *

Śaivism is rich in its philosophical formulations and its modes of worship. The origins of Śaivism may be traced to the period of Mohanjodara and Harappa. Scholars say that in the *Vedas* the term *Rudra* occurs first and is identified later, with Śiva. Some Indologists derive the meaning of the word Rudra from a root which means "to howl". Hence Rudra is, according to them, a wild god who went about with his followers, howling and spreading disease and death. When propitiated, Rudra became Śiva, the auspicious. C.V. Narayana Iyer, in his *Origin and early history of Śaivism*, after examining this view, quotes Sayana and other authorities in support of the interpretation that Rudra stands for one who drives away suffering and its cause, namely SIN. This latter interpretation accords well with Śaiva Siddhānta.

Śaiva Siddhānta is based on the *Vedas* and *Śaiva āgamas* and on Tamil Works. As Śaiva Siddhānta bears the marks of Tamil culture, a brief mention may be made of the basic Tamil works. The definitive formulation of Śaiva Siddhānta is in the *Śivajñānabodham* (13th Century A.D.). But the basic ideas may be traced to the earliest Tamil Grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam* probably of the pre-Christian era. In later Tamil Works, known as the *Sangam* classics descriptions distinctive of ŚIVA such as "the One sitting under a banyan tree", "The blue-throated One", "One who has *śakti* as one half of Himself" etc. occur. After a period when *Śaivism* was in eclipse, saints and sages came on the scene to revive and revitalise it. Tirumūlar of the 5th Century A.D has given in his *Tirumandiram*, the basic teachings of the *Śaiva Āgamas*. *Tirumandiram* is one of the twelve works traditionally classified as *Panniru Thirumurai*. The Tevaram of Tirujnanāsambandhar, Tirunāvukkarasar and Sundaramūrti constitute seven out of these twelve. The eighth is *Tiruvācakam* of Mānikkavācagar. The ninth and eleventh are anthologies of Śaiva saints. The tenth is the *Tirumandiram* mentioned above. The twelfth is the *Periyapurāṇam* which is an epic describing the lives of Śaiva saints, traditionally reckoned as "SIXTY THREE". It may be of interest to mention here that apart from the appeal that this work has had for over a thousand years (from the 10th Century A.D.), it made a profound impression on Śri Ramana Maharishi (1879 to 1950) of Tiruvannāmalai. The lives

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of the "Sixty three" Śaiva saints give a graphic account of the basic principles of Śaiva Siddhānta, embodied and made concrete in actual living.

Fourteen works, known as Meykaṇḍa Śāstras are the doctrinal texts. Of these, *Sivajñānabodham* is considered the primary text. In twelve sutras, of forty lines in all, it states the essential features of *pati, pasu* and *pāśa*. These are the three categories common to several schools of Śaivism. There is a verse commentary on this work. It is called the *Sivajñāna siddhiyār.* The first part of this work states and criticises the views of other schools from CĀRVĀKA to several ĀSTIKA DARŚANAS. The second part states in detail the points made in the *Śivajñānabodham,* with incidental criticism of rival views. A third is a further elaboration of the previous two works. There is a Sanskrit commentary on the *Śivajñānabodham* by Śivāgrayogin. This is in *grantha* script. Attempts are being made to render it into *Devanāgari* and to translate into English. There is a Tamil prose commentary by Śivajñāna Yogin. This is the only work in the entire corpus of Tamil literature comparable to the commentaries of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and others.

We shall first take up the philosophical part of Śaiva Siddhānta and thereafter the religious or practical part. Perhaps a word may not be out of place in regard to the term ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA. The traditional interpretation is that ALL OTHER views are *parapakṣa* whereas Śaiva Siddhanta is the FINAL, ACCOMPLISHED END OR definitive formulation. But as we go through the history of Śaiva Siddhānta it becomes clear that some of the schools examined in earlier works have become obsolete now. So in the true spirit of Saiva Siddhanta, each generation has to understand and expound its basic principles in response to its contemporary trends. To illustrate, it is not enough to repeat the traditional criticism of *cārvāka.* How does a modern Śaiva Siddhāntin react to Marxism? Similarly, it is not enough to react to *Pūrva mīmāmsā.* What is our response to logical positivism and Linguistic Analysis? The Siddhāntin's theory of truth is similar to the coherence theory whose distinctive features are inclusiveness and harmony. So it is necessary to review contemporary trends and assimilate their refreshing insights.

The Siddhāntin argues for three *pramāṇas*, viz., *pratyakṣa, anumāna* and *śabda.* But he makes it clear that the ultimate *pramāna* is *jivacitsakti* as illumined by ŚIVA CITŚAKTI. This point is reinforced in yet another way. Śiva helps souls in two ways. He helps them (i) by illumining the objects of knowledge, thus showing them. (ii) As the

inner light of their intelligence, He helps them to see the objects. In one way, He lights up the objects and in the other way, He lights up their intelligence. In brief, He shows the objects and He Himself sees with the souls.

Now for the basic categories : These are *Pati*, the Lord, *pāśu* (souls) and *pāśa* (bonds). These are eternal. Souls are in bondage from time immemorial. Their bondage is beginningless but not endless. *Āṇava karma* and *māyā* are the three strands of the rope which is collectively called PĀŚA and which binds them.

The Siddhāntin gives arguments for the existence of *pati*, *pasu* and *pāśa*. The arguments prepare the ground for faith by meeting objections and strengthen faith where it exists already. The Siddhāntin makes it clear that *anumāna* and *śabda* are of avail, only as aided by Divine Grace. In the absence of Divine Grace, they are futile. *Pati* is *paśupati*, the Lord of the flock, viz souls. This is suggestive of the immanent and accessible *(saulabhya)* aspect of the Supreme Being in addition to its transcendent *(paratva)* aspect.

Two arguments for the existence of God (Śiva) can be recalled here. The first is as follows : Whatever is composite and subject to changes of state is an effect, requiring a cause. The universe is an aggregate of objects classifiable as male, female and neuter. It is brought into existence from its previous latest state, maintained in existence for a prescribed time and withdrawn again. The second argument is linked with the first, in as much as the three states viz manifestation, maintenance and withdrawal are in relation to the spiritual evolution of souls. In fact, two more factors have to be taken into consideration. They are (i) obscuration *(tirobhāva)* and (ii) bestowal of grace *(anugraha)*.

Souls, which are intelligent entities like Śiva, are unlike Him in being beginninglessly associated with impurity, like the green matter in copper. This impurity is *Āṇava*. It is the strongest strand constituting *pāśa*, the rope that binds souls. The other two strands are *karma* and *māyā*. *Āṇava* is called the *mula mala*. *Āṇava* is ego-centricism—the predicament of viewing everything in terms of "I" and "Mine". *Āṇava* plunges souls in total darkness or presents objects in a false light, distorting their values. It is becasue of *Āṇava* that the other two, *karma* and *māyā* become obstructions, instead of the help that they are meant to be for emancipation, from bondage. *Karma* is deed or action. It stands for thoughts, words and physical deeds that may be used for the benefit of other souls or for their harm. *Māyā* is primordial matter from which worlds, physical bodies, sensory and mental equipment evolve.

Śiva in His infinite mercy, causes worlds, bodies, etc. to issue from MĀYĀ to suit the moral and spiritual development of souls. Souls have to learn to use the world, their bodies, etc. in worship of Siva and in service to souls. But because of *Āṇava*, they use these for their selfish and sensual enjoyment. This is where Anava promotes *mamakāra*, the sense of "mine". Souls try to appropriate everything to themselves. Souls act with a false sense of agency that they are the "Doers", of actions. This is *Ahaṅkāra* promoted by *Āṇava*. Thus souls get bound by what they do.

What are souls ? They are intelligent entities. How does the Siddhāntin argue for their existence ? It is interesting to note that the very attempt to deny the existence of soul implies its existence. The Siddhāntin argues thus : "It exists BECAUSE the act of denial implies one who makes the denial. One must exist atleast to make the denial. So it cannot be *sūnya*. Again, the denial consists in rejecting various claimants like the physical body, sense organs, internal organs *(antaḥ karaṇa)*, vital breath *(prāna vāyu)* to be the soul ? The soul is not the aggregate of all these. What rejects all these is the soul.

May we say then that the soul is BRAHMAN, the Supreme Being ? No. The soul is subject to changes of states, like waking, dream, sleep, etc. Though intelligent, it can know only as informed by the Supreme Intelligence. The Siddhāntin says that souls are neither the Supreme Intelligence nor inert matter. They are described as *sadasat*. Śiva is *sat*. Material principles are *asat*. *Asat* does not mean what is non-existent but what is subject to changes of state. Souls are like crystals which reflect the colours of the objects adjacent to them. In the state of bondage, souls reflect their material environment. At and after release, they reflect Śiva. In this respect, they are true to their real nature even as in sunlight a crystal stands revealed in its true colour.

Souls are said to be many because the incidence of birth and death and differences in spiritual progress leading to ultimate freedom from bondage, vary from individual to individual.

What are the arguments for accepting the existence of *anava, karma* and *māyā*? Briefly, they are as follows : *Āṇava* - If there is no obscuring entity like *Āṇava*, souls will not be obstructed in the free exercise of their faculties (cognitive, conative and affective) and be plunged in sorrow. *Karma* is really the destiny we forge for ourselves by the proper or improper use of our freedom. It is our actions of the past that are responsible for our pleasures and pains in this life. *Māyā* is the primordial material stuff. *Prakrti* as a composite of three *gunas, aṇu, atoms*, etc., cannot be the ultimate physical basis. *Māyā* is not

composite like them. Hence *Māyā* must be accepted as the ultimate primal stuff from which worlds, physical bodies, sense and internal organs evolve.

Besides the functions of creation, maintenance and periodic withdrawal of the world, two other functions also are attributed to Śiva. They are obscuration *(Tirobhāva)* and bestowal of grace *(anugraha)*. Obscuration is necessary, because without it, souls are likely to avoid their moral and spiritual education, by premature withdrawal from life. They have to learn that *karma* must be performed without (1) a sense of agency and (2) without grasping the fruits of good deeds and without avoiding the penalty for bad deeds. This state of mind, *karma sāmya* takes a long time to come about. When it is attained, *Āṇava*, like a ripe cataract of the eye, is fit for removal. Śiva's energy descends on the soul. *(Śaktipāda)*. The *Guru* who appears on the scene at this stage is Śiva HIMSELF. He performs a purificatory ceremony *(Dīkṣā)* to remove *Āṇava*. It may be by thought *(mānasa)* words *(vācaka)* or touch *(sparśa)*. The descent of grace is very slow, fast or very fast in accordance with the corresponding degree of the soul's response to Grace. Souls, thus purified, cease to be self-centred and become God-centred. They are like a prince, kidnapped by gipsies and brought up on their ways, being restored to his royal status by the king who rescues the prince from the gipsies. The Siddhantin uses the word, *Advaita* to describe the relation of the soul to Śiva. He speaks of *Advaita* in the sense of *ananyatva*. It is a state where there is entitative difference but intimate union. As has been well-said, according to the Siddhāntin ADVAITA is to be understood in the sense *not* "There are not two", *but* "They are not two".

(1) *Caryā*, (2) *Kriyā*, (3) *Yoga*, and (4) *Jñāna* are the steps and stages whereby from 1) external, 2) external-internal, and 3) internal processes, 4) God-realisation is attained. The temples with their impressive GOPURAM, sacred rivers and places of pilgrimage, proclaim the glory of Śaivism. Souls have to learn to recognise the presence of Śiva, not merely in these sacred places but in everything that is alive. It is a rich heritage that Śaiva Siddhānta offers, with the *insistence* that without claiming superiority over others, we must worship Śiva, alike in the lowly and great, alike in friend and foe. For as the *Tirumandiram* puts it, "Only the ignorant speak of love and Śiva as different. Love *is* Śiva and Śiva *is* love". Where there is love, there can be no hatred or ill-will. Devotees of Śiva must radiate love, like their Lord.

त्रैलोक्यसम्पदालेख्यसमुल्लेखनभित्तये।
सच्चिदानन्दरूपाय शिवाय ब्रह्मणे नमः॥

–Siddhantasikhamani, I.1.

Saiva Sects of South India

Dr. M. Sivakumara Swamy*

The history of *Śaiva* religious sects of South India is inseparably linked with the history of Śaivism in general in India. In the recorded ancient literature of the Veda, the *Śaiva* thought is traceable to the *Rudra*-hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, in which the terrible as well as gracious aspects of *Rudra* are depicted. *Rudra* is called Ugra[1]; His name and form are *tveṣa* (fierce)[2]; He is *goghna* (killer of cattle) and *purusaghna* (killer of men)[3]; His arrows and bow *(sāyakāni, dhanvā)* are feared.[4] Here we find *Rudra's* terrible, malevolent aspect depicted. He is called *Mīḍhvān* (the benevolent one)[5]. His hand is merciful, healing and cooling *(mṛḷayākuḥ, bheṣajaḥ* and *jatāṣaḥ)*[6]. He is *ṛdūdara* (soft-bellied, most compassionate)[7]; the best physician among the physicians[8]. Here we find the depiction of *Rudra's* gracious, benevolent aspect. Thus in these hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, *Rudra* is portrayed as the protector and destroyer. He is called *śreṣṭha* (supreme) amidst those born, in greatness and power - *'Śreṣṭho jātasya Rudra śriyāsi'*.[9]

Rudra's protecting aspect has been represented as *Śiva* in the *Satarudriya*-portion of the *Yajurveda*[10]. He is addressed with adoration as both *Siva* and *Rudra*[11]. The *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* presents *Rudra-Śiva* and depicts Him as the *Brahman* and speaks for the first time of *Bhakti* as due to Him[12]. The God *Īśa* supports both the mutable and the immutable, the manifest and the unmanifest. As contrasted from Him the individual soul is bound on account of his being the enjoyer of the fruits of *karma*. When the soul knows the *Īśa* he is freed from the bonds *(pāśas)*[13]. *Rudra* is the only God. He who rules these worlds with His Powers *(Śaktis)* stands before everyone and destroys the world at the time of annihilation.[14] He is the Lord *Śiva* who, being hidden in all, is the sole enveloper of the universe. He is like the subtle film at the top of ghee. His knowledge alone brings freedom from the

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bonds of ignorance[15]. He spreads manifold meshes in His hands and moves on the surface of the world. He creates and recreates and maintains his sovereignty over all the worlds.[16] Thus the *Śvetāśvatara* glorifies *Rudra*, who is otherwise known as *Śiva* or *Īśa*, as the only Lord, the Supreme Soul of souls and the Governor of the universe and maintains that the individual soul can attain liberation through the knowledge of Him. The doctrine of *Pati, Pāśu* and *Pāśa* of the *Pāsupata* and other Schools of Śaivism are already in the making in the *Śvetāśvatara*. "This was the manner in which the *Śvetrāsvatara* paved the way for later Śaivism, its theistic way of glorification, suffused with trinitarian monism, becoming the pivot of the doctrines of Kaśmīr Śaivism and Southern Śaivism"[17]. Southern Śaivism applies to all the sects of Śaivism in South India, which carry on the *Śivabhakti* tradition.

Patañjali, the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, refers to *Śiva-bhāgavatas*.[18] This is the *Bhakti* tradition which is represented by the *Pāśupatas* of the *Mahābhārata*[19]. *Paśupata* is the name of the new *Śaiva* theology in the epic. There are narratives telling about some hero winning the favour of *Śiva*[20], hymns of praise the most important being the one setting forth the one thousand and eight names of *Śiva*[21] and expositions of *Pāśupata* theology[22]. The worship of *Śiva* in the form of *Liṅga* was prevalent long before as the archaelogists show. The *Mahābhārata* shows its prevalence during the epic times.[23] The *Pāśupatas* some of whom wore the miniature *Liṅga* at their crest are later represented by the *Lakuliśa-Pasupatas, Ghorakṣanāthīyas, Raseśvara-Śaivas, Śaiva-Siddhāntins, Vīraśaivas*, etc.

Later *Upaniṣads*, which cannot be later than 200 B.C., such as *Atharvaśiras, Atharvaśikhā, Nīlarudra* and *Kaivalya* have other elements and practices of *Śaivas* such as *Śaiva-dīksā, Bhasmadhāraṇa, Rudrākṣadharaṇa*, etc., described in them. *Bṛhajjābālopaniṣad, Bhasmajābālopaniṣad, Rudraksajabalopanisad*, etc., have elaborations on *Bhasma* (the holy Ash), *Rudrākṣa* (beads), *Mantra (Pañcakṣarī* or *Ṣaḍakṣarī)*, etc. The *Śaivāgamas*, as many as they are available, are enough to show that the core of their philosophy is drawn from the early *Upaniṣads*, especially the *Śvetāsvatara* and that the materials of worship and religious practices are taken from the later *Upaniṣads*. The *Śaivagamas* with *Pūrva* and *Uttara* portions have been the common stock from which all the *Śaiva* religio-philosophical systems have drawn their concepts, precepts and practices. With this background, I propose to give an account of the *Śaiva* sects of South India.

Kinds of Śaivas in the Āgamas

In some of the available Śaivāgama portions, the kinds of Śaivas are mentioned and described. For instance, the *Candrajñānāgama* enumerates eight kinds of *Śaivas*, viz., 1. *Anādiśaiva*, 2. *Ādiśaiva*, 3. *Pūrvaśaiva*, 4. *Miśraśaiva*, 5. *Śuddhaśaiva*, 6. *Mārgaśaiva*, 7. *Sāmānyaśaiva* and 8. *Vīraśaiva*.[24] The *Sūkṣmāgama* mentions seven kinds of *Śaivas* as : 1. *Anādiśaiva*, 2. *Ādiśaiva*, 3. *Mahāśaiva*, 4. *Ānuśaiva*, 5. *Avāntaraśaiva*, 6. *Pravaraśaiva*, and 7. *Antyaśaiva*.[25] This classification is according to the hierarchy of castes, *Brāhmaṇa*, etc. The same *Āgama* gives another classification in accordance with the differences in practices *(ācāra)* as : 1. *Sāmānyaśaiva*, 2. *Miśraśaiva*, 3. *Śuddhaśaiva* and 4. *Vīraśaiva*[26].

Here according to both the *Āgamās*, *Anādiśaiva* is one only and He is *Śiva* Himself. The *Candrajñānāgama*, however, adds *Śiva's Gaṇas* as *Anādiśaivas*.[27] The *Adisaivas* are the great sages like *Kausika*, *Kasyapa*, *Bharadvaja*, *Atri* and *Gautama*, who are said to have got initiated through the five faces of *Śiva*.[28] Those who belong to their line *(gotra)* receive initiation from the *Gurus*. Those who belong to other lines receive initiation according to the latter part of the *Āgamas*, the initiation being threefold as *Vedhā*, *Manu* and *Kriyā* involving the establishment of three *Liṅgas (Ista, Prāna* and *Bhāva)* in relation to the three bodies (respectively *Sthūla*, *Sūkṣma* and *Kāraṇa)*. All these belong to the category of *Ādiśaiva*.[29] The *sūkṣmāgama* expressed the view that there is no necessity of any separate initiation for the scions of *Kausika*, etc.; they are required to worship *Śaṅkara* in a *Maṇḍala* (circle), feed the devotees and receive the *Mantra*, etc., from their father, etc., after *Upanayana*.[30] These are called *Śivadvijas* according to the *Sūkṣmāgama* who are entitled to perform sacrifices for themselves or for others. But in the opinion of the *Candrajñānāgama*, the term *Śivadvija* should be used with reference to an inferior brand of *Brahmaṇas* who are entitled to serve as worshippers, etc., in the temples.[31] *Pūrvaśaivas* in the list are *Śivadvijas*.

Misraśaivas are those who worship *Āditya*, *Ambikā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Gaṇanātha* and *Maheśvara* on a common altar *(pītha)*. They are called *Miśra* because of this mixed practice. Neither do they have *Śivadīkṣā* nor do they entertain any special idea of *Siva's* supremacy. They are *Śaivas* [illegible]tue of their applying *Bhasma* and wearing *Rudrākṣas*.[32] The [illegible] of *Śaivas* in the list of the *Candrajñānāgama* are the [illegible] They are sanctified by the *paurāṇadīkṣā* consisting in

the application of *Bhasma* and wearing of *Rudrākṣas* and are dedicated to the worship of *Śivaliṅga* with a firm faith in the supremacy of *Śiva*.[33] The *Suksmagama* mentions that they may also worship the *Liṅga* given by the *Guru* keeping it on their palm.[34] The class of *Śaivas* called *Sāmānyaśaivas* are the *Śāktas*, etc.[35] They render circumambulation *(pradakṣiṇa)*, salutation *(namaskāra)* and worship *Śiva* as and when they see *Śiva (Linga)* and they have no set practices of worship. They show devotion towards the devotees of *Siva* and render service at the ceremonies dedicated to *Śiva*.[36]

The *Mārgaśaivas* mentioned by the *Candrajñānāgama* are described as those who are sanctified by three kinds of *Dīksā (Vedhā, Manu* and *Kriyā)*. They are endowed with the knowledge of *Sat-sthalas (Bhakta, Māheśvara, Prasādin, Praṇalingin, Śarana* and *Aikya)*. They worship the *Linga* six times a day and render the *Ṣadakṣara-mantrajapa* twentyone thousand and six times every day with their mind absorbed in the notion of *Śiva-jīva* union.[37] They are very much similar to *Adisaivas*, but differ from them in respect of receiving special *Dīksā* and dedicating themselves to special ways of religious life leading to liberation.[38] They are very much close to the *Virasaivas* who are at a higher stage of their spiritual ascent.

The *Vīraśaivas* are spoken of as *Śrauta* and *Śvatantra*. They are *Srauta* if they follow the *varṇa* and *āśrama* order. They are *svatantra* if they do not follow that order.[39] They are again threefold as *Sāmāṇya, Viśeṣa* and *Nirābhārin*. The *Sāmānyas* are those who worship the three *Liṅgas*, viz., *Iṣṭa, Prāṇa* and *Bhāva* with a notion of identity and who regard the *Guru, Māheśvara (Jaṅgama)* and *Iṣṭaliṅga* with equality and who render the worship of the *Liṅga* thrice a day with materials of worship that are available.[40] The *Visesas* are those that follow certain special practices such as feeding one, two or three *Māheśvaras (Jaṅgamas)* every day, performing worship of the Liṅga six times a day, etc.[41] The *Nirābhārins* are those who have taken to the fourth order of life *(āśrama)*, i.e., *Sanyāsa*. This is with reference to the *Śrautas*. The *Nirābhārins* among the *Śvatantras* are those who have relinquished all entanglements of family life.[42]

As regards the *Mahāśaivas, Anuśaivas, Avāntaraśaivas* and *Pravaraśaivas* described in the *Sūkṣmāgama*, it may be noted that they are respectively the *Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas, Sūdras* and *Kulālas* (potters), *Pārśvakas* (swindler), etc., who are initiated according to the process of *Śaivadīkṣā*. Those persons belonging to the other low castes are called *Antyāśaivas* when they are similarly initiated.[43]

The above account of the kinds of *Śaiva* based on the *Śaivāgamas* is given with a view to identifying the *Śaiva* sects of South Inida. *Anādiśaiva* being the Lord *Śiva* alone or *Śiva* and the *Śivagaṇas* together is outside the purview of this purpose. The classification of *Śaivas*, as noted in the *Śaivāgamas*, is based on the consideration of differences in practices :

"Ācārabhedamūlāste Śaivabhedāḥ samīritāḥ".[44] On the basis of certain fundamental common features such as three kinds of *Dīkṣās* conferring three *Liṅgas (Iṣṭaliṅga, Prāṇaliṅga* and *Bhāvalinga)* on the three bodies *(Sthūla, Sūkṣma* and *Kāraṇa)*, the acceptance of the path of *Ṣaṭsthalas*, etc., these different *Śaivas* can be brought under common heads. Thus *Ādiśaivas, Pūrvaśaivas, Śuddhaśaivas, Mārgaśaivas* and *Vīraśaivas* form one category; *Miśraśaivas* form one category by themselves; and *Sāmānyaśaivas* form one category by themselves. This categorisation is indicated in the *Candrajñānāgama* thus :

> *"Ādeḥ pūrvasya śuddhasya tathaivaṁ Mārgavīrayoḥ;*
> *Saviśeṣaṁ Śivādvaitaṁ śrutīnāṁ sammataṁ matam.*
>
> *Miśrasya Śuddhādvaitākhyaṁ mataṁ tu parikalpitam;*
> *Sāmānyasya viśiṣṭam yacchaktyādyadvaitameva hi."*[45]

The five kinds of *Śaivas, Ādi, Purva, Śuddha, Mārga* and *Vīra* have a common system of philosophy called *Saviśeṣa Śivādvaita;* the *Miśraśaivas* have *Śuddhādvaita;* and the *Sāmānyaśaivas* have *Śaktiviśiṣṭadvaita.*

This is only a tentative attempt at categorisation in the light of the material available in the extant portions of the *Śaivāgamas.* The *Śaiva* sects of South India have undergone vast changes and as such they do not strictly conform to the characteristics of the kinds of *Śaivas* mentioned and described in the *Śaivāgamas. Miśraśaivas* can be clearly identified with the *Smārta Brāhmaṇas* of various kinds who follow the tradition of *Advaita Vedānta.* They are not regarded as a *Śaiva* sect at all, although they have certain practices in common with the other *Śaivas*, such as the application of *Bhasma* and the wearing of *Rudrākṣas.*[46]

All other *Śaivas* fall broadly into two groups as *Śaiva-siddhāntins* and *Vīraśaivas* in South India. There are two schools of Śaiva-siddhāntins, depending on their literature being in Sanskrit or Tamil, as Sanskrit School of *Śaiva-siddhāntins* and Tamil School of *Śaiva-siddhāntins*. The former is mainly a School of *Brahmanas*, while the latter is a School of non-*Brāhmanas*. Both of these Schools are called *Dakṣiṇa*

Śaiva (Southern Saivism) with Tamilnadu as its home. The *Vīraśaivas* belong to Karnāṭaka as a major community and they have settled down in large numbers in Mahārāṣṭra and Andhra Pradesh. As already noted, the *Candrajñānāgama* speaks of *Śrauta Vīraśaivas* following the *Varṇāsrama*-order[46(a)] and *Svatantra Vīraśaivas* without following that order. The *Mahāsaivas, Anuśaivas, Pravaraśaivas, Avāntaraśaivas* and *Antyaśaivas* can be brought under the common category of *Dakṣiṇa Śaivas* by virtue of their *Śaivadīkṣā*. The *Mahāśaivas*, who are the *Brāhmaṇas* holding *Śaivadīkṣā*, have maintained their identity as *Dīksitas*, etc., in Tamilnāḍu. The other *Śaivas* have all the castes within their fold looking at them with a notion of equality, although they generally keep to their sub-castes in respect of matrimonial relations, etc. In the similar manner, the *Vīraśaivas* (otherwise known as *Lingāyatas*) have all the castes and sub-castes within their fold including the *Brāhmaṇas* and have extended an ideal cover of equality by virtue of *Vīraśaivadīkṣā* conferring the *Īṣṭaliṅga* to be borne always on the body and worshipped twice or thrice a day without fail. Yet they generally keep to their sub-castes in respect of matrimonial relations, etc., in practice. At the social level in all functions such as marriages, etc., they maintain equality in co-dining, etc.

Southern Saivism and Viraśaivism

With this background, which is rather complex and confusing in view of the vast changes that have taken place, I propose to deal with two broad sects of Śaivism in South Inida, viz., Southern Śaivism and Vīraśaivism, which have grown together through the ages and have borrowed from each other not only the philosophical concepts but also the religious practices during the course of their development. Both have adopted the religious rites of the Vedic tradition as modified and handed down by the *Śaivāgamas*, which constitute the common source of authority and inspiration for both. Yet their philosophical tenets and religious rites have the individual marks of their own. These will be shown with a brief history of their religio-philosophical traditions.

1. Southern Śaivism

As already noted above, the Southern Śaivism has two Schools, Tamil *Śaiva* School and Sanskrit *Śaiva* School, in accordance with the School of *Śaiva Siddhānta*, either Tamil or Sanskrit, they follow. Both the Schools have common links with the *Śaiva Āgamas*. The first religious leaders of Tamil Śaivism were the three *Nayanars*, viz.,

Ñānasambandhar, Appar and Sundaramūrti. Their hymns in praise of Śiva are called *Tevārams.* These form the first seven books of *Tirumurai,* the first canonical collection compiled by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi in the 10th century, A.D., a century later than the date of Sundaramurti. The eighth book of *Tirumurai* is the *Tiruvācakam* of Māṇikyavācakar (about 850 A.D.). The tenth book is the *Tirumantram,* the earliest *Siddhānta* work by Tirumūlar. The twelfth book is the famous *Periyapurāṇam* of Cekkizhar which narrates the lives of the sixty-three *Nāyanārs.*[46(b)] The next set of canonical works are the fourteen *Meykaṇḍa Śastras.* The most important of these is the *Śivajñānābodham* of Meykanda Devar. This gives the first systematic exposition of *Śaiva Siddhānta,* which is the synthesis of the truth contained in the *Vedas* and the 28 *Śaivāgamas.* Aruḷnandi's *Śivajñānasiddhi* and *Irupāvirupathu* and Umāpati Śivācārya's *Śivaprakās'a, Tiru-aruḷ-payan, Saṅkālpa-nirākaraṇa,* etc., are the other *Siddhānta* works. Meykaṇḍa Deva, Aruḷnandi, Marai Jñāna Sambandhar and Umāpati Śivācārya are called the four *Santānakkuṟavar (Ācāryas* - Teachers by right of succession) after the four *Samayācāryas* (Teachers of religion), viz., Ñānasambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikyavācakar.[47] Kaṇṇuḍaiya Vaḷḷatār's theological treatise *Oḷivil Oḍukkam* (17th century A.D.) and Śivajñānā Yogin's *Draviḍa-bhāṣya* and *Laghuṭīkā* on *Śivajñaṅabodha* (18th century A.D.) are the other important contributions to Ṭamil Śaivism.[48]

The Sanskrit School of Śouthern Saivism is mainly represented by Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya's *Śaiva-bhāṣys* on the *Vedānta-sūtras.* Śrīkaṇṭha calls his philosophy as *(Śaiva)*-Viśiṣṭādvaita.[49] At many points his reasoning follows Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya.* Hence, he is regarded as belonging to a date later than that of Śrī Rāmānuja (1017 A.D.). Since Śrīpati Paṇḍitārādhya refers to Śrīkaṇṭha by name,[50] the latter must be earlier to the former. The date of Śrīpati Panditaradhya is 1070 A.D. Hence Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya's date is middle of 11th century A.D., as he was an elder contemporary of Śrīpati Paṇḍita. Aghora Śivācārya refers to Śrīkaṇṭha Śivācārya as his predecessor in being the pontif of the *Āmardakamaṭha* before Hṛdayaśankara and Dhyāna Śivācārya.[51] Aghora Śivācārya flourished in 1154 A.D. This confirms the date of Śrīkaṇṭha as about 1050 A.D. The *Śarvadarsanasangraha* of Mādhava gives an account of *Śaiva Darśana.*[52] Śambhudeva wrote *Śaivasiddhānta-dīpikā*[53] and *Śambhu-paddhati* (16th century A.D.), the latter work being on *Śaiva* rituals. The famous Appayya Dīkṣita wrote a commentary called *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* on the *Bhāṣya* of Śrīkaṇṭha and *Śivādvaitanirṇaya.*

Philosophy of Śaiva Siddhānta

The philosophic standpoint of the Tamil School of Southern Śaivism is Śivādvaita. The name *Bhedābheda* is also given to this philosophy. Srīkaṇṭha calls his *Vedānta* as *(Śaiva) Viśiṣṭādvaita.*

The *Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta* distinguishes three eternal entities : *Pati, Paśu* and *Pāsa.*[54] *Pati* stands for *Śiva,* the Lord of souls. *Paśu* is the individual soul. *Pāśa* is the common name for *Āṇava, Karma* and *Māyā* which bind and limit the pervasive intelligence of the soul. The Supreme Lord Śiva is the first cause of the three processes of origination, maintenance and destruction of the world.[55] He is not only the efficient cause of the world but also the material cause since *Māyā (Śakti),* the material substratum of creation, is inseparable from Him and ultimately dissolved into Him. He is the final cause, the supreme goal to which the whole creation tends as its final consummation. "He is the beginning, middle and end, unknown even to the *Trimūrtis*"[56]. Sundarar says that he came to take refuge at the feet of the Lord after having heard of His love, mercy and ready forgiveness.[57] Thus the nature of God as revealed to his *Bhaktas* is Love.[58]

Pasu :

The souls are many and are distant from God and the world of matter.[59] True knowledge reveals that the soul exists in the body as distinct from the products of *Māyā.*[60] The view of the *Māyāvādins* denying the reality of the world and identifying the self with *Brahman*[61] is refuted. The Lord has created the world for the sake of souls that they may attain liberation by exhausting the fruits of their *Karma.*[62]

Pasa :

The soul which is divine by nature, becomes bound by three *Malas, Āṇava, Karma* and *Māyā.* The three *Malas* are the bonds. *Āṇava* obscures the intelligence of the soul and prevents it from realising its true divine nature. *Karma* in the form of the merits and demerits of past actions pursues the soul and prevents it from release by making it experience the joy and sorrow. *Māyā* limits the pervasiveness of the soul and binds it to one body. The souls are classified in accordance with their being bound by one, two or three *Malas.* Those bound by *Āṇava* only are *Vijñānakalas;* those by *Āṇava* and *Karma* are *Pralāyākalas;* and those by all the three *Malas* are *Sakalas.* It is only the *Sakalas* that undergo transmigratory process. Umāpati Śivācārya

gives the illustration of paddy to describe that the three *Malas* are associated with the soul like the husk, bran and sprout of paddy.[63]

Moksa :

The soul is in bondage from beginningless time. It is the Lord's divine grace, which also works from beginningless time, that works to release the soul from its bondage.[64] This is known as *Śaktipāta*. There is no treasure moe precious than that grace in the world.[65] The *Bhakta* feels that *Śiva* is near him and present in his inmost being. This is the experience of Māṇikyavācakar when he says that the Lord is One not separated from his heart even for a moment.[66] When the devotee comes to realise the Lord and His infinite love and grace, the pangs of separation from the Lord become unbearable in him.[67] He realises how shamefully he had forgotten the Lord's love and grace in seeking perishable pleasures of the world. This inaugurates the path to release. But the way to release is a long and arduous one and it involves intense spiritual discipline through the guidance of a spiritual *Guru*. Through the discipline *Karmas* binding the soul become gradually exhausted and the *Āṇava* becomes ripe for removal. *Jīvanmukti* is the immediate goal. In that state the soul is freed from the bondage of *Pāśa* and yet it is in the body which is the product of *Pāśa (Māyā)*.[68] It is a state in which the attachment and union with *Pāśa* is replaced by the attachment and union with *Śiva*. The total freedom from *Pāśa* is possible only at *Videhamukti*.[69] Finally it is the union of the soul with *Śiva*. The union is characterised by knowledge *(jñāna)*, love *(icchā)* and action *(kriyā)*. This is *Śivādvaita*. In this state of union which is represented as the devotee joining his head *(talai)* to the feet *(tāl)* of the Lord, the soul becomes one with the Lord without losing its individuality so that they are neither one nor two.[70] This is *Bhedabheda*.

The religio-spiritual discipline

The *pañca-kṛtyas (Saṁhara, Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti, Tirobhāva* and *Anugraha)* of the Lord are His acts of grace for the liberation of souls from *samsāra*.[71] For this purpose He appears as the Divine *Guru*. The *Siddhānta Ācāryas* are unanimous in saying that Śiva Himself appears as the *Guru*. Tirumūlar clearly says that the *Guru* is identical with *Śiva* - *"Iraiye civaguruvāme"*.[72] Although by the *Śaktinipāta*, the soul realises that the Lord is always there with His grace, it cannot attain liberation without intense religio-spiritual discipline. This discipline starts with *Dīksa* (Initiation), the purpose of which is the purification

of six *Adhvas*, namely, *Mantra*, *Pada*, *Varṇa*, *Bhuvaṇa*, *Tattva* and *Kalā*. Each of the preceding *Adhvas* is absorbed by the following one. The last of the *Adhvas* (i.e., *Kalā*) is absorbed by *Tirodhānaśakti* which in turn is absorbed by *Śiva*.[73]

Spiritual development

The spiritual development of the soul commences with initiation *(dīkṣā)* and progresses through four stages, namely, *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yoga* and *Jñāna*.[74] The first stage is mainly one of the acts of external worship such as washing and cleaning the temples, plucking flowers for worship, decorating the images, serving the *Śaiva* devotees, etc. This stage is known as *Tāta-neṟi* (*Dāsamārga* = the way of the servant).

The second stage called *Kriyā* is one of more internal *pūjā* (worship). In this stage the devotee not only offers flowers, incense, water, food, etc., to the Lord but also worships him with devotion and eulogies. The path here is called *Puttira-neṟi* *(Satputra-mārga)*, the way of the son.

The third stage called *Yoga* is one in which the devotee is a *Śivayogin*. Becoming adept in the *Aṣṭāṅga-yoga* he fixes his mind on *Śiva* as the Supreme Light and contemplates on Him as his inmost being. This path is called *Tozha-neṟi* *(Sahacāra-mārga)*, the way of a friend.

The fourth and highest stage is called *Jñāna*. In that stage the devotee realises the significance and nature of the three categories, viz., *Pāśa*, *Pasu* and *Pati*. This is a stage wherein one experiences non-difference among Knower *(Jñātr)*, Known *(Jñēya)* and Knowing *(Jñāa)*, i.e., the *tripuṭi*.

The first path leads to *Sālokya*, the second to *Sāmīpya*, third to *Sārūpya* and the fourth to *Sāyujya*.[75]

It is maintained that knowledge alone leads to liberation : *"Ñāṉattāl vīṭu"*.[76] It is the knowledge of the Lord *(Patijñāna)* embracing the total person of the devotee, his intellect, emotion and will. The paths of *Bhakti* and *Karma* play a significant role in leading the devotee to liberation. *Karma* dedicated to the Lord brings *Śivapuṇya* which leads to the saving knowledge. *Karma* requires the association of *Bhakti* culminating in self-surrender. Umāpati Śivācārya says that the state of liberation is a state of love : *"anpu nilaiye atu"*.[77] Of the four *Mārgas* described above, the first three *(Cāryā*, *Kriyā* and *Yoga)* are regarded as only preparatory leading to the last, i.e., *Jñāna*.[78] In each of the four *mārgas* knowledge and love *(Jñāna* and *bhakti)* are present in different degrees. The *Patijñāna* finally leads to liberation.

In the stage of *Jīvanmukti* wherein the soul is with the body, it is necessary to practice *"Śivo'haṁ-bhāvanā"*, recite *Muktipañcakṣara-mantra (Śivāya namaḥ)* and perform *Antaryāgapūjā* (His worship as seated in the *hṛtpuṇḍarīka*) in order that the dangers of *prārabdhakarma* and *Malavāsanā* may not overpower it again. The *Videhamukti* is finally the stage from which there is no return *(Kalanta piṉ piriuumillai)*.[79]

All through the life from *Śaktinipāta* and *Dīkṣā* to *Jīvanmukti* and further through it as long as the body falls, the devotee should live in the world without attachment. He should cleanse the *Malas* gradually. He should be associated with *Śiva-bhaktas*. Association with the good and virtuous devotees is a prerequisite for attaining *Jīvan-mukti* and a co-requisite for perseverence in it.

Respect for the sacred emblems such as *Bhasma* and *Rudrākṣas :* one should adorn oneself with *Bhasma* and *Rudrākṣas* and worship the sacred forms of *Sivabhaktas, Jivanmuktas (Gurus)* and Śiva with equal veneration. The *Bhakti* for the devotees of Śiva is the sure sign of one's love for God.[80] The worship of *Śiva* means the worship of the *Śivaliṅga* and other sacred images of the temple as *Śiva* Himself. This is the path of *Karma* and *Bhakti* leading to the saving Jñāna culminating in *Mukti* according to the followers of Śouthern Śaivism.

Siddha Sect of Tamilnādu *(Sittars)*

There was a *Śaiva* sect called *Sittars (Siddhas)* in Tamilnāḍu which held a monotheistic and puritan creed. Its main feature was condemnation of idolatry as clear from their hymns collected in the *Śiva-vākyam*, lyrics of pattinaṭṭu piḷḷai (10th century A.D.) and *Aḍaṅgan Muṟai* of Tattuva Rāyar (17th century A.D.). Farquhar considers it as a movement which might be an outcome of Muslim and Christian influence.[81] Not much is known about this sect.

Virasaivism

Vīraśaivism is a sect with a philosophical system and religious practices the roots of which go back to Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Upaniṣads* and the *Śaivāgamas* as in the case of the schools of Southern Śaivism. The tradition which has the support of *Śaivāgamas* is that the *Vīraśaiva* sect was founded by the five *Ācāryas*, Revaṇa, Maruḷa, Paṇḍitārādhya, Ekorāma and Viśvārādhya, who are regarded to have sprung from the five heads of *Śiva* incarnate Age *(Yuga)* after Age.[82] The five monasteries *(Mathas* also called *Jagadguru Pīṭhas)* belonging

to their heritage are existing in Bālehonnūr (Chikkamagalur Dist., Karnataka), Ujjini (Bellary Dist., Karnataka), Śrīśaila (Karnool Dist., Andhra Pradesh), Kedāra (Himālayas, Gaḍhvāl, U.P.) and Benaras (U.P.). There is a copper plate *Dānaśāsana* dated *Saṁvat* 631 (574 A.D.) which has recorded the donation of land by Jayanandana Deva, a king of Kāśī, to Gosāyī Mallikārjuna Jangama of Viśvārādhya Siṁhāsana.[83] As regards the antiquity of the Kedāra Ekorāma pīṭha, it is clear from the heritage of 323 Pontifs (the present *Guru* being the 323rd in the line) recorded.[84] Besides Purānic references to one *Jagadguru (Jīvanmukto Jagadguruh)* by name Sadānanda Muni of Śrīśaila Pīṭha,[85] there are literary references to Śrī Jangama Mallikārjunadevācārya in Nanne Coḷa's *Kumārasambhava*[86] in Telugu (940 A.D.) to show that the Śrisaila Pīṭha was well known before 10th century A.D. The references to Revaṇa (Skt. Reṇuka) and Maruḷa in the *Maṅgalaślokas* of the *Śrīkarabhāṣya* of Śrīpati Paṇḍitārādhya, one of the Pontifs of the Śrisaila Pīṭha (1070 A.D.) show that long before 10th century A.D. they were known as the *Vīraśaiva Ācāryas*, whose heritage continues at Bālehonnūr and Ujjini. Śrī Basaveśvara, a minister Bijjaḷa, a Kalacūri King who came to the throne at Kalyāṇ (Bīdar Dist. of Karnātaka), embraced Vīraśaivism through initiation *(dīkṣā)* by Jātaveda Muni of kūḍala Sangama (Bijapur Dist. of Kārnātaka) and reformed the faith through his progressive ideas. Under his leadership many great saints such as Cannabasavanna, Prabhudeva, Akka Mahādevī, etc., preached the *Vīraśaiva* faith.

The literature of Vīraśaivism is mainly in Sanskrit and Kannada. There are a good number of *Vīraśaiva* works in Telugu and some in Tamiḷ, Malayāḷam and Marāṭhi. The available *Śaivāgamas*, *Sūksma*, *Suprabheda*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Kāmika*, *Pārameśvara*, *Vātula*, *Candrajñāna*, *Kāraṇa*, *Makuṭa* and *Vīra* contain *Vīraśaiva* material in their latter parts *(Uttarabhāga)*, all the fundamental religio-philosophical concepts and practices such as *Ṣaṭsthalas*, *Dīkṣa (Liṅgadharaṇa) Aṣṭāvaraṇa (Guru, Liṅga, Jaṅgama, Bhasma, Rudrāksa, Mantra, Pādodaka* and *Prasāda)*, *Pañcācāra (Liṅgācara, Sadacāra, Śivācāra, Gaṇācāra* and *Bhṛtyācārā)*, etc. The *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* of Śivayogi Śivācārya is a compendium on *Vīraśaiva* religious practices and philosophy with its material drawn from the *Śaivāgamas* and *Śaiva Purāṇas* and systematically arranged into 101 *sthalas* coming under the six broad *Sthalas*, *Bhaktasthala, Māheśvarasthala, Prasādisthala, Praṇaliṅgisthala, Śaranasthala* and *Aikyasthala*.[87] This work which is quoted as an authority in the *Srīkarabhāṣya* (1070 A.D.),[88] cannot be later than 10th century A.D.

The *Śrīkarabhāṣya* is the *Vīraśaiva Bhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras* Nīlakaṇṭha Śivācārya's commentary in verse and prose on *Vedāntasūtras* belonging to 1400 A.D. is another work on *Vīraśaiva* philosophy in Sanskrit.[89] Sri Marītoṇṭadārya (17th century A.D.) has written a commentary called *Tattvapradīpikā* on the *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi*[90] and an independent *Vādagrantha* called *Vīraśaivānandacandrikā*.[91] The *Śivādvaitamañjarī* of Svaprabhānanda Śivācārya,[92] belonging to 17th century, is another *vādagrantha* on *Vīraśaiva* philosophy. Nandikeśvara's *Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā*[93] establishes the antiquity of *Liṅgadharaṇa*. Monappa's *Vīraśaivācārakaustubha* (18th century) and Siddhavīraṇa's *Anādivīrasaivasaṅgraha* deal with the religious practices of the *Vīraśaivas*. These are some of the important works on *Vīraśaivism* in Sanskrit.[94]

In Kannada, the *Vacanas* of Basaveśvara, Cannabasavanna, Prabhudeva, Siddharāmeśvara, Akka Mahadevī, etc., bring out the *Vīraśaiva* concepts and devotional service to God and give expression to their spiritual and mystic experiences and their perseverent path of *Sadhana*. Harihara of 14th century A.D. wrote the biographies of Basaveśvara, Revaṇasiddheśvara, Sidharāmeśvara, Prabhudeva, Cannabasaveśvara, etc., and of the 63 saints of Tamilnāḍu (i.e., *Purātanas*) in a Kannaḍa *Chandas* called *Ragaḷe* (resembling free verse in English). Harihara's cousin Rāghavāṅka wrote *Siddharāmacarite* in Kannada *Vārdhika-ṣaṭpadi*. Bhīma Kavi's *Basavapurāṇa* (1369 A.D.), Siṅgirāja's *Mahā-Basavacaritra* (1400 A.D.), Cāmarasa's *Prabhuliṅgalīle* (1460 A.D.), etc., depict the lives of the Vīraśaiva saints. *Karaṇa-Hasuge* of Cannabasavanna is a learned work on Vīraśaivism in Kannaḍa. Thsese are important works on Vīraśaivism in Kannada. Śivaprakāśa Swāmigaḷ of Tamilnādu has translated the *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* into Tamiḷ (17th century). *Śivatattvasāramu* of Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhya, *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* of Pālkuriki Somanātha, etc., are some of the works on Vīraśaivism in Telugu.

Philosophical background of Saivism

The philosophical background of *Vīraśaivism*, as of the Southern Śaivism, is derived from the *Upaniṣads*, *Śaivāgamas*, *Śaiva-purāṇas*, *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* of Śivayogi Śivācārya, and handed down through *Śrīkarabhāṣya*, *Kriyāsāra*, *Anubhavasūtra*, *Vīraśaivānandacandrikā* and *Śivādvaitamañjarī*. The following are the main philosophical tenets of *Vīraśaivism* :

1. *Paraśiva-Brahman*

Paraśiva, the Brahman,[95] is the Supreme entity in Vīraśaiva philosophy, which is of the nature *Sat, Cit* and *Ānanda*. He with His inseparable *Śakti* is the instrumental cause and material cause of the world.[96] The world was absorbed in Him before creation[97] and He alone stood without a second with *Śakti* inherent in him. This is in the light of the *Śruti* statements *"Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ, ya imān lokān īśata Īśanībhiḥ"*,[98] etc. The *Paraśiva-Brahman*, with a will to create the world, assumed a form dominated by bliss.[99] This is in keeping with the *Śrutis* - *"Ānīdavātaṁ svadhayā Tadekam, Tasmāddhānyanna paraṁ kiñcañasa"*,[100] *"so' kāmayata, bahusyāṁ prajāyeyeti, sa tapo'tapyata, Idaṁ sarvam asṛjata"*,[101] etc. The most important feature of *Śiva* lies in His *Śaktiviśiṣṭatva*, i.e., His inseparable association with *Śakti*. The world is an expansion of His *Śakti*. *Paraśiva* assumes three forms when His *śakti* becomes replete with three *Gunas – Satva, Rajas* and *Tamas* for the purpose of creation. The three forms are : *Bhoktṛ, Bhojya* and *Preraka*. This happens due to the imbalance of the three *Guṇas.*[102]

Bhoktṛ is the sentient being due to the combination of *Sattva* and *Rajas*. *Bhojya* is the insentient part of the world which is characterised by the extreme adjunct of *Tamas*. *Preraka* is the *Maheśvara* who has *Śuddhā Māyā* as His adjunct.[103] *Śambhu*, the *Preraka*, is omniscient. The *Jīva (Bhoktṛ)* is endowed with limited knowledge. The *Bhojya* is called *Jaḍa Avyakta* because its *caitanya* is extremely hidden.[104] These are the three that are called as *Pati, Paśu* and *Pāśa* in the *Śaiva Siddhānta*.

Paraśiva with His *Śakti* is the cause of the creation, maintenance and absorption of the world consisting of *cara* and *acara (Bhoktṛ* and *Bhojya)*. This is supported by the *Śruti*, *"yato vaimāni bhutāni jāyante, yena jātāni jīvanti, yatprayantyabhisamviśanti"*.[105] In this very sense He is called *Sthala* par excellence and *Liṅga*.[106]

2. *Śakti*

Śakti is the innate power of Śiva, with whom it is in an inseparable relation of identity *(tādātmya)*. Hence, it is also characterised by *Sat, Cit* and *Ānanda*. It is through this *Śakti* that *Śiva* experiences His *Sat, Cit* and *Ānanda* nature as *'asmi', 'prakāse'* and *'nandāmi'*. This *Śakti* called *Vimarśa* is the *Mūlamāyā*. The same assumes the form characterised by three Gunas when *Śiva* wills for creation and divides itself into *Śuddhā* and *Aśuddhā*, the former associates itself with

Īśvara (Preraka) and the latter with *Jīvas*. The former is called *Ūrdhvā (Parā) Māyā* and the latter *'Adho-(Avidyārūpā)-Māyā*. Due to difference in *Aśuddhā Māyā (Avidyā)*, the *Jīvas* are many.[107] *Śakti* is of three forms as *Icchā, Jñāna* and *Kriyā* in *Śiva* when He wills to create. It is through that Śakti of many forms that He manifests as the world of beings and matter, which is made up of thirty-six principles.

As clear from the following eulogy of *Śakti*,

> *"Amṛtārthaṁ prapannānāṁ yā suvidyāprādayinī,*
> *Aharniśamaham vande Tamīśānamanoramām."*[108]

It is *Śakti* which grants spiritual knowledge to the devotees who are desirous of liberation. Moggeya Māyideva has brought out the double-nature of Śakti, one leading souls to bondage and another leading to release. Just as the great flame becomes divided in the form of lamp, the *Śakti* of *Maheśvara* divides itself into Bhakti.[109] *Śakti* itself is *Bhakti* and *Bhakti* is *Śakti*.[110] *Sakti* leads to *pravṛtti* and *Bhakti* leads to *nivṛtti*. Śakti brings about the world, while Bhakti merges it with *Śiva*.[111]

This conception of *Śakti* is a development from the *Śruti* statements— *"Parāsya Śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate Jñāna-Balā-Kriyā ca". "Mayam tu prakṛtiṁ vidyānmāyinam tu Maheśvaram."*[112]

3. *Jīva*

It is stated that *Śiva* is one and without a second and He is the Supreme Lord full of supreme intelligence and bliss. His portion divided from Him as *Jīvas* due to its association with the beginningless *Avidyā*.[113] This *Avidyā* is *Śakti* of *Śiva* which assumes that form to separate the *Jīvāmśā* from *Śiva*. This *Jīvāmśa* divided itself into manifold beings as gods, animals, human beings, etc.[114] *Śiva* resides in all *Jīvas* as the *preraka*. "Just as water is inherent in the Moon-stone, fire in the Sun-stone and sprout in the seed, so is *Śiva* in the *Ātman*".[115]

The individual souls are real, many, eternal and atomic. They are active agents and experiencers of joys and sorrows in accordance with their merits and demerits. The doctrines of unreality, oneness and identity with God are all untenable, according to *Vīraśaiva* philosophy:

> *"Jīvālikatva-jīvaikatva-jīvabrahmatvavādo hyayuktaḥ."*[116]

They are oppressed by three kinds of affictions : *Ādhyātmika, Ādhibhautika* and *Adhidaivika*, relief from which could be possible only when Śiva's grace descends on them *(Śaktipāta)*.[117] This opens

up the *Sādhanamārga* consisting in six *sthalas* inaugurated by *Dīkṣā* through *Guru's* grace. *Bhakti*, which is *Śiva's Sakti* roused in the *Jīva*, takes it along becoming ripe at each stage *(sthala)* as *Śraddhā, Niṣthā, Avadhāna, Anubhāva, Ananda* and *Samarasa*, makes it accomplish the hormony of *Karma* and *Jñāna* and merges it in Śiva from whom it had broken away.

4. ***Jagat***

It is already stated above that the world is consisting of beings and matter *(cara* and *acara)* and that it is two-fold as *Bhoktṛprapañca (Jivas)* and *Bhojyaprapañca* due to the influence of *Śiva's Śakti* replete with three *Guṇas*. It is made up of thirty-six *tattvas* from *Śiva* to *Pṛthvī*. Hence it is non-different from *Śiva* :

> *"Ātmaśaktivikāsena Śivo viśvātmanā sthitaḥ,"*[118]
> *"Śivatattvātsamutpannaṁ jagadasmānna bhidyate."*[119]

This is in consonance with the *Śaiva-siddhānta* view.

As the true manifestation of *Śiva*, the world is real. According to Śripati Paṇḍitārādhya, the doctrine of falsity of the world has no support of the *Upaniṣads* :

> *"Asatchabdena sūkṣmātmakatvaṁ tadbhinnatvena sthulātmakatvaṁ ca nirdiṣṭam. Tasmātprapañcasya satyatvaṁ Brahmābhinnatvaṁ ca samañjasam."*[120]

5. ***Mukti***

According to *Vīraśaiva-siddhānta*, Mukti consists in the soul's attainment of union with *Śiva (Śivaikya)* due to the aquisition of knowledge of itself and of Him in consequence of the ripening of its merits and demerits :

> *"Brahmavidyāmahimnā jīvasya svābhāvikāvidyā-nivṛttipūrvaka-Śivatvapraptivado yuktaḥ"*[121]
> *"Svābhāvikajīvatvanivṛttipūrvaka-Śivatvapraptireva mokṣaḥ"*[122]

It is *Śiva-jīvaikya*, a total *advaita* of the nature of *samarasa* like water mixed with water, fire with fire :

> *"Jale jalamiva nyastaṁ vahnau vahnirivārpitaṁ;*
> *Pare Brahmaṇi līnātmā vibhāgena na dṛs'yate."*[123]

The *Ātman* merged into *Parabrahman* does not have its identity. The final state of *Jīvanmukti* is the state in which the *tripuṭī* of the Knower,

Known and Knowledge. This is called *Jñānaśūnyasthala* which means the state of *Tripuṭījñānaśūnyatā* :

> *"Kevalam saccidānandaprakāśādvayalakṣaṇam;*
> *Śūnyakalpam parākāśaṁ Parabrahma prakāśate."*[124]

This is not the *Śūnyatā* of the *Bauddhas*. Nor is it just an attainment of *Śivarūpatāprāpti*. It is *Śivatvaprapti*, *Śivādvaitaprāpti*.

This is the philosophical backdrop of the *Vīraśaivas*. The *Mukti* as described above is the goal to be achieved through the practice of *Śiva-yoga*. The accomplishment of *Śiva-yoga* is a process commencing from the *Dīksā* passing through the stages of *Istalingapūjā*, *Śivayogasādhana*, vision and worship of the internal *Liṅga* and final surrender to God and culminating in *Aikya*.

Religious discipline of Vīraśaivas

The religious discipline of the Vīraśaivas falls into a scheme of six *Sthalas* : *Bhaktasthala*, *Māheśvarasthala*, *Prāsadisthala*, *Prāṇalingisthala*, *Śaraṇasthala* and *Aikyasthala*. Through *Śaktipāta*, the descent of *Śiva's* grace in the form of *Bhakti*, the *Jīva* begins to aspire for *Mukti* from transmigration. He approaches the Guru and receives the Dīksā; then commences his religious discipline of the *Bhakta* stage. Then follow the other stages.

1. ***Dīkṣā***

The *Dīkṣā* is intended to serve the double purpose of associating the *Bhakta* with the *Liṅga* and weakening the bonds. It is called *Dīkṣā* because it serves these two purposes with the knowledge associated with them :

> *"Dīyate ca Śivajñānam Kṣīyate pāśabandhanam;*
> *yasmādataḥ samākhyātā Dīkṣetīyaṁ vicakṣaṇaiḥ".*[125]

> *"Dīyate Lingasambandhaḥ kṣīyate ca malatrayam;*
> *Dīyate Kṣīyate yasmāt sā Dīkṣeti nigadyate."*[126]

This *Dīksā* is three-fold as *Vedhā*, *Mantra* and *Kriyā*.[127] *Vedhādīksā* consisting in the placing of *Guru's* palm on the head of the aspirant and the *Guru's* looking intently at him in order to mystically infuse the *Sivabhāva* in him. The imparting of *Śivapañcākṣarī mantra* (which becomes *Ṣadakṣarī* with the prefixing of 'Om') in the ear of the devotee by the *Guru* is called *Mantradīkṣā*. *Kriyādīkṣā* consists of many processes as *Svastikāracanā*, *Kalaśasthāpanā*, the *saṁskāra* (purification with ablution and *mantras*) of the miniature *Liṅga*, the

samskāra of the devotee, etc.[128] The purified *Liṅga* is placed on the left palm of the devotee by the *Guru*, who then proceeds to infuse mystically the *citkala* into the *Liṅga* after drawing it from the brain of the devotee through his (Guru's) palm installing in the process the two internal *Liṅgas*, *Prāṇaliṅga* and *Bhāvaliṅga*, in the *prāna* and *bhāva* of the devotee. This is with the *saksi* of the *Pañcakalaśas* representing the *Pañcācāryas*. Then the *Guru* instructs the devotee to wear the *Iṣṭaliṅga* (first placed on the palm) always on his body. The separation of the *Liṅga* from the body is deemed to spoil its sacredness. This is normally borne by the *Vīrasaiva* in a metal casket hanging from the neck. This *Liṅga* is to be worshipped at least twice a day. This worship of the *Iṣṭaliṅga* is obligatory and all other kinds of ceremonies and vows are only secondary. This is the *Dīkṣā*, which makes the devotee equipped with *Aṣṭāvaraṇa*, the eight emblems of faith.

2. Aṣṭāvarana

Aṣṭāvaraṇa literally means 'eight covers'. They are the eight aids or emblems of faith. They are : 1. *Guru*, 2. *Linga*, 3. *Jaṅgama*, 4. *Bhasma*, 5. *Rudrākṣa*, 6. *Mantra*, 7. *Pādodaka* and 8. *Prāsada*.

1. *Guru* is the one who belongs to the tradition by *Gotra* and *Sūtra* of the five *pīṭhas* of the *Pañcācāryas*. He is held in great esteem as the *Dīkṣāguru*, *Śikṣāguru* and *Jñānaguru* in accordance with the functions of initiation, instruction and spiritual guidance he performs.

2. *Liṅga* is the *Istalinga* given by the Guru. It is held in great esteem as *Śiva* Himself.

3. *Jaṅgama* is the wandering mendicant full of spiritual knowledge. He is also regarded as Śiva incarnate and worshipped by the devotees. He is free from all attachments and imparts spiritual guidance. It is true, as Farquhar has observed, that the term *Jaṅgama* is applied to the *Vīraśaiva* priests who are house-holders.[130] They are called *Gurusthala Jaṅgamas*. They are invited by the *Bhaktas* for all the domestic ceremonies and worship them and receive their *Pādodaka* and *prasāda*. Among these *Gurusthala Jaṅgamas*, some are celebrates for life. There are *Jaṅgamas* called *Viraktas*, who are living in their monasteries which they have built for social stability. They are life-long *Sanyāsins*. All are held in esteem in the *Vīraśaiva* society.

Guru, *Liṅga* and *Jaṅgama*, the first three of *Astāvaraṇas*, are the *Pūjyas*. The next three are the *pūjāsādhanas*.

4. *Bhasma* is the holy ash prepared out of cowdung. This is used for smearing on the body *(Bhasmasnāna* or *uddhūlana)* and for

Tripundradharana on the different limbs of the body such as the head, forehead, neck, shoulders, arms, forearms, etc. It is called *Tripundradhāraṇa* because the application of Bhasma is with the three middle fingers to imprint three horizontal lines on the limbs.

5. *Rudrakṣas* are the beads held as sacred by the devotees. Rosaries made of these are tied to the different limbs of the body and hung from the neck. They are also used for counting the *mantra-japa*. Small rosaries of thirteen *Rudrākṣas* are used on the palm around the *Iṣṭalinga* at the time of worship.

6. *Mantra* is the *Śaiva Pañcākṣarī-mantra* derived from the *Rudrādhyāya* of the *Yajurveda*. With *'Omkāra'* prefixed it is the *Ṣaḍakṣarī-mantra*. This is used for *Japa* at the time of *Iṣṭaliṅga*-worship and for making the *Bhasma, Rudrākṣa,* etc. It is used for meditation in *Śivayoga*. The *mantra-japa* is of three kinds as *Vācika, Upāṁśu* and *Mānasa* in accordance as it is muttered to be audible to others, not audible to others or just felt in concentration without the movement of lips and tongue.[131] The *Mānasajapa* is considered the best.

7. *Pādodaka* and

8. *Prasāda* are regarded as the sacred *phalas* (rewards) received from the *Guru* and the *Jaṅgama* after wroshipping their feet. With reference to the *Iṣṭaliṅga*, they are called *Liṅgodaka* and *Naivedya*. They are to be partaken by the devotees. The water washing the feet of the *Guru* or *Jaṅgama* is called *Pādodaka*. *Prasāda* is anything, eatables, flowers, etc., granted as a favour from the *Guru* or *Jangama* and also anything of that type offered to the *Iṣṭaliṅgam* and partaken afterwards. In the orthodox tradition of the *Vīraśaivas*, especially in that of the *Gurus* and *Jaṅgamas*, the worship of the *Liṅga* or any other statues installed in temples or the partaking of the *Prasāda* of those is neither obligatory nor necessary.

Other Rituals

Dīkṣā, already described above, is the basic ritual among the *Vīraśaivas*. It has taken the place of the *Upanayana* ceremony or it may be said that *Dīkṣā* is an *Upanayana* ceremony with a difference, with *Yajñopavītadhāraṇa* replaced by *Liṅgadhāraṇa*. Apart from this, the other *Gṛhya* rites like *Nāmakaraṇa, Vivāha, Puṁsavana,* etc., *(Ṣoḍaśasaṁskāras)* are followed by the *Vīraśaivas* with some modifications. In these ceremonies, the Vedic as well as Āgamic Mantras are used. The Gurusthala *Jaṅgamas* act as the priests in

them. *Gurus* of the *Pañcācārya* tradition preside over them. In all the rituals of the *Vīraśaivas*, the *Pañcakalaśasthāpanā* and *pūjā* are obligatory. The *Pañcakalaśas* representing the *Mūla-pañcācāryas* have taken the place of *Agni*.

A note on Avasānavidhi

The *Vīraśaivas* without exception bury their dead. In the tradition of Southern *Śaivas*, burying *(Khanana)* the dead is limited to the *Sanyāsins* and children (who die before initiation), while *dahana* (cremation) is practised in the case of all others. The *Vīraśaivas* have only *khanana* practice. The process is called *Samādhiracanā*. A pit of square shape measuring five feet on all sides and nine feet depth is prepared with a platform at the bottom. The dead body is lowered into it and placed in a sitting posture. The *Iṣṭaliṅga* of the dead person should be placed in the mouth. The *Vibhūti ghuṭikās* and *Bilvapatra* are placed around the body. Then the relatives and friends of the dead person offer several handfuls of mud into the pit. Then it is fully covered with mud.

On the eleventh day after the Samadhi, the Guru, *Jangamas* and others are to be fed. This is known as *Ganārādhana*. There is *sāpiṇḍyādikarmas* prescribed for the *Virasaivas*.[132]

4. Ārādhya Brahmanas

Ārādhya Brahmaṇas form a class of *Śaiva Brahmaṇas* who wear *Yajñoppavīta* as well as *Iṣṭaliṅga* on their bodies. Farquhar calls them a group of semi-*Liṅgāyats* (semi-*Vīraśaivas*) and half-converted *Smārtas*. "In their private worship they are *Liṅgāyat*, but they intermarry with *Smārta* Brahmanas, a *Smārta* performs the wedding ceremony for them, and they will not dine with other *Liṅgāyats*."[133] Some of the early *Gurus* and *Jaṅgamas* of the *Vīraśaivas* sprung from the fold of *Ārādhya Brahmaṇas*. There are many families of *Ārādhyas* who have given up the practice of wearing *Yajñopavīta*, are living in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka within the fold of *Vīraśaivas* and are following the rituals of the *Vīraśaivas* only. Those who remain outside the fold of *Vīraśaivas* follow the *Smārta Brāhmana* practices.

It is interesting to note that the *Maṭhasthala nirnaya*, an *Ārādhya Brāhmaṇa* work, gives the following *Guruparamparā* for them :

> *"Krtetu Revaṇassiddho tretayām Marulaprabhuḥ;*
> *Dvāpare Rāmadevaśca Kalau Paṇḍitadesikaḥ.*
> *Śrīpatir Mañcaṇaścaiva Mallikārjunapanditaḥ;*

Udbhaṭaḥ Koṭipallākhyo Vemārādhyaprasiddhakaḥ.
Kotturu Bāco Basavassakaleśvara Mādirāṭ."[134]

In this *Guruparamparā*, all are *Vīraśaivas* except Udbhaṭa, Kotipalla and Vemārādhya (probably). The *Guruparamparā* is recited by the *Ārādhya Brahmaṇas* at the time of their *Iṣṭaliṅgapūjā*.

References

1. Rgveda, II. 33.11.
2. Ibid., II.33.8; I.114.4,5.
3. Ibid., I. 114.10
4. Ibid., II.33.10; I.114.7,8; VII.46.3,4; II.33.11
5. Ibid., II.33.14.
6. Ibid., II.33.7; I.114.5; VII.46.3
7. Ibid., II.33.5.
8. Ibid., II.33.4. *'Bhiṣaktamani tvā bhiṣajām śṛṇomi'.*
9. Ibid., II.33.3.
10. *Taittirīya-samhita*, IV.5.1-11.
11. Ibid., IV.8.
12. J.N. Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 58-59.
13. *Śvetāsvatara*, I.8 - *'Saṁyukhtametatkṣaramakṣaram ca vyaktāvyaktaṁ bharate viśvaṁ Īśaḥ; Anīsaścātmā badhyate bhoktṛbhāvāt jñātvā Devaṁ mucyate sarvapāśaiḥ'.*
14. Ibid., III.2. - *'Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ ya imān lokān īśata Īśanībhiḥ; Pratyañjanāsthṣṭhati sankucopāntākāle saṁsṛjya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ'.*
15. Ibid., IV.16. - *'.... Viśvasyaikaṁ pariveṣṭitāram jñātvā Devaṁ mucyate sarvapāśaiḥ'.*
16. Ibid., V.3. - *'Ekaikam jalaṁ bahudhā vikurvan asmin kṣetre sañcaratyeṣa Devaḥ; Bhūyaḥ sṛṣṭvā yatayastatheṣaḥ sarvādhipatyaṁ kurute Māhatmā'.*
17. R.D. Ranade : *A Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, Bombay, 1968, p.142.
18. *Mahābhāṣya*, on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyi* V.2.76.
19. *Mahābhārata*, XII.285, 321, 350; Hopkins : Great Epic, p. 86, 96, 118.
20. Ibid., III.38-41; VII.80-81, etc.
21. Ibid., VII.80, 54-63, etc., *'Aṣṭottarasahasranāmāni'* - XIII.17.
22. Ibid., XII.285, 122-125, 350; XIII.160-161.
23. Ibid., XII.285; 124; Hopkins : Great Epic, p.114.
24. *Śivāgamasaṅgraha*, (Kannada Script), Mysore, 1942, Candrajñānāgama, X.4-5.
25. Ibid., Sūkṣmāgama, VII.5-6.
26. Ibid., VII.15-16.

27. Ibid.; *Candrajñānāgama*, X.6 - '*Anādiśaivaḥ Śambhuḥ syādatha tasya gaṇa api*'.
28. Ibid., X.7.
29. Ibid., X.8-9; *Sūkṣmāgama*, VII.8.
30. Ibid., *Suksmāgāma*, VII.9-10, 11.
31. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.11-15.
32. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.19-22; *Sūksmāgāma*, VII.19-21.
33. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.23-24.
34. Ibid., *Sūkṣmāgama*, VII.25.
35. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.28.
36. Ibid., *Sūksmāgama*, VII.17-18.
37. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.25-26.
38. Ibid., X.27.
39. Ibid., X.30.
40. Ibid., X.36-37; *Sūkṣmāgama*, VII.32-33.
41. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgāma*, X.37-41; *Suksmagama*, XIII.40-62.
42. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.42.
43. Ibid., *Sūkṣmāgama*, VII.12-14.
44. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.54.
45. Ibid., *Candrajñānāgama*, X.50-51.
46. Ibid., *Candrajnanagama*, X.21-
"Naiteṣāṁ Śivadīkṣa syānna Śivādhikyabhāvanā; Bhasmarudrāksadharaṇācchaivatvaṁ misrapūjanāt; Miśratvaṁ vidyate yasmānmisraśaivāḥ prakīrtitāḥ."

46.(a) These can be identified as *Arādhya Brahmaṇas* of South India.

46.(b) They are called also *Nāyanmārs*.

47. J.N. Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India*, 1967, p.258; Chacko Vallaveetil : *Liberated Life*, Madurai-Madras, 1980, pp.70-71.
48. J.N. Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India*, p.351.
49. *Śrīkanthabhāṣya*, on II.1.22.
50. *Śrīkarabhāṣya*, on II.1.22; II.2.8, etc.
51. *Mahotsavanidhi*, Last Chapter.
52. SDS, Chapter VII.
53. Bhandarkar : *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism*, etc., pp. 126-127.
54. Umapati Śivācārya : *Śivaprakāsam*, 13 –
"Palakalai Āgamavedam yāvayiṟunikaruttup Patti-Pāśu-Pāśanterittal" Vedas, Āgamas and various Śāstras declare the *Tattvas : Pati, Paśu* and *Pāśa*.
55. Aruḷnandi : *Śivajñānasiddhi, Supakkam* 1.1 – *"Vandu ninṟu povadu"*.
56. Māṇikyāvacakar : *Firuvācakem*, 20.8. – *"Mundiya mudaṉaṭu virutiyum ānāy; Mūvaṟu marikilariyāvar Maṟṟarivār"*.
57. Tirumuṟai, VII – *"Kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum Kuṇameṉakkarutum Koḷkai Kaṇdu nin Kuṟai Kāzhal ataintteṉ"*.

58. Tirumūlar : Tirumantram, 257 — *"Anpum civamum irendenpar arivitār, anpe civamāvatārum arikitār".*
59. Śivāgrayogin : Śivaneriprakāśam, 44-45.
60. Meykanda Devar : *Śivajñānabodha,* 3.7 — *"Māyāiyantirat tanuvinul ānmā ulatu".*
61. Arulnandi : *Śivajñānasiddhi,* Parapakkam, 235-252.
62. Śivāgrayogin : Sivaneriprakāśam, 43-44.
63. *Śivaprakāsam,* 25 — *"Nellin mulai tavidumi pol anādiyāka niruttiduvar idu Śaivam nikazhttumāre."*
64. Umapāti : *Tiruvarutpayan,* 40.
65. Ibid., 31 — *"Arulil periyadu akhilattu il.*
66. Tiruvācakam, 1.2. — *"Imaippozhutum cnncñcininkātān tāl vāzhka".*
67. Manikyavācakar gives poignant expression to this, vide Tiruvācakam, 5 and 6.
68. Tevārams and Tiruvācakam give this experience of opposites.
69. Śivajñānasiddhi, Supakkam 11.3-4.
70. Tiruvarit payan, 74 — *"Tātalai (tāl-talai) por kūtiyavai tānikazha verrinpak kutalai ni ekamenkkol".*
71. Śivajñānasiddhi, Supakkam, I.36. — *"Uyirkku manniya putti mutti vazhankavum arulān munne tunniya malankalettām tutaippatum".*
72. Tirumantram, 1548.
73. Śivajñānasiddhi, 8.6.
74. Ibid., 8.18.
75. Ibid., 8.19-22 — *"Cariyai cevyor ican ulakiruppar"; "Ikkiriyāyinai iyarruworkal ninmalantan arukkiruppar"; "Civan tan uruwattaipperuwar"; "Ñānapperumaiyutaiyor civanaipperuwar".*
76. Ibid., 8.27.
77. Tiruvarutpayan, 80.
78. *Siwajñānasiddhi,* 8.11. — *"Cariyai Kiriyā yokam celuttiya pin ñānattārc civanadiyaic cervar".*
79. Ibid., 10.6.
80. Ibid., 12.2.
81. *Religious Literature of India,* p. 352, 387.
82.(a) Suprabhedāntargata-Pañcācārya-Pañcamotpatti Prakarana, Sholapur, 1903, p.2.
(b) Vide Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India,* p.260 — "These five are mentioned in the *Suprabheda Āgama*" (f.n.2).
(c) Svāyambhuvāgama also gives an account of these Ācaryas.
83. *Date Samwat 631 Kārtika Śuddha Ekadasi : "Svastiśrē Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śrī Śrī Mahāraja Jainandadeva Kāśī Nareś Ādesāti Śrī Śrī Śrī Viśvārādhya Simhāsanakamha Gosāyī Mallikārjuna Jangamakam ha bhūmidinha ..."* (old Hindi). (Prabhunārāyana Simha, Kāśī Rāja, has reinscribed it as it was, since the *Danapatra* was very old with the following endorsement on *Samwat* 1982 *Asadha Badi* 8 — *"Miti kartika Sudī Devotthāna Ekādaśī* 631 *me* Jainandadeva Kāśi Nareś*ne jo sanad diyā tha uskā avikala pratilipi hai yah ..."*

84. Vidē Pandit Hari Krishna Ratūdi's *'Gadhwāl kā Ithas'*, Dehra Dun, 1928.

85. *Skandapurāna, Śankarasamhitā, Śrīśaila khanda*, 85.92 : *"Tasmin Śrīparvate punye samsārābhayabheṣaje; Āste Lingāngasambandhī Sadānandāhwayo munih"*.

86. Ed. M.V. Rajakrishna Kavi, Rajamahendri (A.P.), 1909. The poet dedicates the work to the Ācarya.

87. *Śiddhāntasikhāmani*, I.25, 30–
"Ālokya śaivatantrāni Kāmikādyani sādaram;
Vātulāntāni śaiwāni purānānyakhilāni tu.
"Viraśaivamahātantram Ekottaraśatasthalam;
Anugrahāya lokānām abhyadhāt sudhiyāmvarah."

88. In the introduction to his edition of *Srikarabhāsya* (Bangalore, 1936), Sri Haryavadana Rao has assigned this work to 1400 A.D. on the ground that the name of Madhva occurs in three places (II.3.12-18, II.2.8 and II.3.15). This reading is based on a single manuscript copied in 19 obtained from Mysore. A printed text of *Srikarabhasya* (in Telegu script) published by Lakshmi Vilas Press, Secunderabad in 1893, does not have that reading. All other Manuscripts (about six) which the present writer consulted do not have that reading at all. Since Sripati Panditaradhya is glorified in 12th century Inscription of Calukya Pallaketuraja from the Mallikesvara temple in Vijayawada, he cannot be later than 11th century A.D. (*Madras Epigraphical Records*, No. 536).
Vide : (i) Introduction to Telegu *Panditārādhyacarita* (Ed. Cilakuri Narāyana Rao, 1939), pp. 30-31.
(ii) Introduction (Sanskrit) *Srikarabhasya* (Ed. M.G. Nanjundaradhya ORI, Mysore, 1977, pp. 121-122.

89. Pub. ORI, Mysore (in three volumes), 1957.

90. Pub. Viraśaiva Sahitya Samsodhana Mandal, Sholapur, 1990.

91. Pub. Mooru Sāvira Matha Granthamālā, Hubli, 1936.

92. Pub. Pañcācārya Electric Press, Mysore, 1934.

93. Pub. Jangamwadi Mutt, Benaras, 1989.

94. One important work left out above is Moggeya Māyideva's *Anubhavasūtra* based on *Vātulottaratantra* (16th century A.D.). (Pub. ORI, Mysore, 1983.)

95. *Siddhāntasikhāmani*, 1.2.– *"Brahmeti vyapadeśasya viṣayaṁ yam pracakṣate; Vedantino jaganmulaṁ tannamāmi Param Śivam"*.

96. *Srīkarabhāsya*, I.1.2.– *"Jagadupādāna-Parameśvara-Śaktestu tadekadesavṛttitvam. Tasmadabhinnanimittopādānakāranatvaṁ"*.

97. *Siddhāntasikhāmani*, II.7.– *"Tatra tinamabhūt sarvaṁ cetanacetanam jagat"*.

98. *Śvetāsvataropaniṣad*, III.2.

99. *Siddhāntaśikhāmani*, II.8. :
"Śwābhidaṁ Paraṁ Brahma jagannirmātumicchayā; Svarupāmādade kiñcit sukhāsphurtiwijrmbhitam".

100. *Rgveda*, X.129.2.

101. *Taittiriyopanisad*, Brahmanāndavatti, 6.

102. *Siddhāntasikhāmani*, V.38-39. :

"Gunatrayavibhedena Paratattve Cidatmani; Bhokttṛtvaṁ caiva Bhojyatvam Prerakatvam ca Kalpitam.

"Gunatrayatmika śaktir Brahmanisṭha sanātanī Tadvaiṣamyāt samutpannā tasmin vastutrayābhidha".

103. Ibid., V.40 : "Kincitsattvarajorūpam Bhoktṛsamjñakamucyate; Atyantatāmasophahir Bhojyamityabhidhiyate; Atra Prerayita Sambhuh suddhopadhir Mahesvaraḥ".

104. Ibid., V.43.— *"Sarvajñah prerakah Śambhuḥ Kiñcijño jīva ucyate; Atyantagūḍhacaitanyam jaḍamavyaktamucyate".*

105. *Taittiriyopanisad*, Bhṛguvallī, 1.

106. *Anubhavasūtra*, II.5, 8—

"Sthakāraḥ sthānāvacī syāllakāro layavacākaḥ; Tayoḥ Kāraṇabhutaṁ yat tadeva sthalamycyate

"... yadbhavet paramaṁ Brahma Sthalaṁ tatprāhurakṣaram."

Siddhāntaśikhamani, VI.36 :

"Layaṁ gacchati yatraiva jagadetaccarācaraṁ; Punaḥ punaḥ samutpattiṁ tallingam Brahma sāsvataṁ."

107. *Siddhantasikhamani*, V.44-45 :

"Upadhih punarakhyatah suddhasuddhavibhedatah; Suddhopadhih para Maya svasraya mohakarini.

"Asuddhopadhirapyevam Avidyasrayamohini; Avidyasaktibhedena jivah bahuvidhah smrtah."

108. Ibid., I.12.

109. *Anubhavasutra*, II.23.

110. Ibid., II.26.— *"Saktireva smrta Bhaktih Bhaktireva hi sa sada."*

111. Ibid., II.27.— *"Saktih pravrttirakhyata nivrttirbhaktiririta; saktya prapancasrstih syat Bhaktya tadvillayo matah."*

112. *Svetasvataropanisad*, VI.8, IV.10.

113. *Siddhantasikhamani*, V.34-35— *"Anadyavidyasambandhattadamso jivanamakah."*

Vide also—

"Mamaivamso jivaloke jivabhutah sanatanah" (Bhagavadgita, 15.7).

"Amso nanavyapadesat" (Vedantasutras)

"Prakasadivat jivah paramatmano'msah" (Srikarabhasya, IV.3.43).

114. *Siddhantasikhamani*, V.35— *'Devatiryanmanusyanijatibhede vyavasthitah".*

115. Ibid., V.36— *"Candrakante yatha toyam suryakante yathanalah; Bije yathankurah siddhah tatha tmani Sivah sthitah."*

116. *Srikarabhasya*, II.3.42.

117. *Siddhantasikhamani*, V. 53 :

"Suddhantahkarane jive suddhakarmavipakatah; Jayate Sivakarunyat prasphuta bhaktiraisvari."

118. Ibid., X.68.

119. Ibid., X.66.

120. *Srikarabhasya*, II.1.17. Also vide *"Sesvaradvaitabhane tu sarvam Sivamayam jagat."* (I.1.2.).

121. Ibid., IV.4.1.

122. Ibid., III.2.6.

123. *Siddhantasikhamani*, XX.59.

124. Ibid., XX.66.

125. *Siddhantasikhamani*, VI.12.

126. *Karanagama*, Kriyapada, I.12.

127. *Siddhantasikhamani*, VI.12; Karanagama, I.13.

128. *Siddhantasikhamani*, VI.13-14 :

"Gurroralokamatrena hastamastakayogatah; yah Sivatvasamaveso Vedhadikseti sa mata. Mantri dikseti sa prokta mantramatropadesini; Kundakundalikopeta Kriyadiksa Kriyottara."

Vide also Karanagama, I.14.

129. *Siddhantasikhamani*, VI.25 :

"Pranavaddharaniyam tat Pranalingamidam tava; Kadacitkutracidvapi na viyojaya dehatah".

130. Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India*, p.262.

131. *Siddhantasikhamani*, VIII.26-29.

132. *Paramesvaragama*, 19.

133. Farquhar : *Religious Literature of India*, p.263.

134. Quoted in T.N. Mallappa's *Virasaivada Ugama Mattu Pragati* (Kannada work), Bangalore, 1969, pp.34-35.

Bhiksatanamurtti according to Saivasiddhanta

Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat

Every icon of a Hindu deity is moe than the product of the individual work and talent of a sculptor. It is the result of the culture which the artist possesses and shares with others. It depends on the whole body of knowledge which characterizes the group and civilization to which the artist belongs. That includes philosophical concepts, myths and technical knowledge. We are fortunate enough to have documents on this general culture which explains the icons of medieval Hinduism. They are the Tantra-s and Purāṇa-s. The former contains philosophical concepts in their *vidyā-pāda* section and all kinds of technical knowledge on icon-making, rituals of installation, modes of worship, related prayers, etc. in their section on rites or *kriya-pāda*. The literature of *śilpa-śāstra* is still more specialised and relevant, as it deals with architecture, sculpture, painting, etc.; it is very close to Tantric literature. Purāṇa-s provide mostly the related myths and incidentally some technical description and hymns to the deities.

We propose to present in this paper the documents provided by a few texts of the Śaivasiddhānta school of Tantra-s on the image called Bhikṣāṭanamūrtti and to compare them with a few purāṇic sources and images. The three sources have to be examined together, each being allowed to carry the same weight. If we consider only the images, it will be difficult to distinguish Bhikṣāṭanamūrtti from Kaṅkālamūrtti. If we consider only the Purāṇa-s the confusion will extend to Bhairava. If we consider only Tantra-s, the regional styles of sculpture will not appear at all. In order to solve these problems we have to examine all the documents together and to take a careful account of the precise informations which they can yield.

The myth of Bhikṣāṭanamūrtti is variously presented in the Purāṇa-s. We can classify the variations in two broad categories. The first includes the versions of *Liṅga-purāṇa* (I, 29), *Vāmana-purāṇa* (43), *Skanda-purāṇa, Revatī-khaṇḍa* (38), etc. It narrates the feat of Śiva as a beautiful, young ascetic, who goes begging in a forest of *devadāru* and attracts behind him the wives of the sages engaged there in penance, causing thereby their anger. The *Liṅga-purāṇa* explains clearly the motive behind this action.

प्रवृत्तिलक्षणं ज्ञानं ज्ञातुं दारुवनौकसाम्। परीक्षार्थं जगन्नाथः श्रद्धया क्रीड्या चरुः॥
निवृत्तिलक्षणज्ञानप्रतिषर्थं च शंकरः। देवदारुवनस्थानां प्रवृत्तिज्ञानचेतसाम्॥
विकृतं रूपमास्थाय दिग्वासा विषमेक्षणः। मुग्धो द्विहस्तः कृष्णाङ्गो दिव्यं दारूवनं ययौ॥

"In order to know the activity-oriented thought of the inhabitants of *Dāruvana*, in order to test their faith, and in order to establish a thought oriented towards cessation of activity in those sages in the Devadāruvana who had only thoughts of activity in their mind, playfully, the Lord of the world Saṃkara took an abnormal form : space was his garment, he had three eyes, two arms, a dark complexion; thus, beautiful, he went to the *daruvana*." (29, 7-9)

Then the same text describes how the Lord induces love in the mind of the women, who forget their duty and follow him with amorous attitudes and actions. It emphasizes the excessive and repulsive aspect of their intoxication. Then it describes the reaction of the sages : the interruption of their penance, the loss of temper, anger and lack of control of senses. But Śiva remains impassable. He is the cause of disorder and unaffected by it. He is told to be *ūrdhvaretas*. This is a reference to yogic continence. Thus this myth shows the superiority of Śiva and its serene, unalterable, attractive aspect. It establishes also the virtue of yogic discipline of the mind.

The other aspect of the myth of Bhikṣāṭana-mūrtti is more repulsive and has a totally different significance. It is a myth of expiation of sin. Bhikṣāṭana is confused with Bhairava, together with Kankāla-mūrti, or is given as another form of Bhairava. Śiva has shown his superiority over Brahman and Viṣṇu, but at the cost of severing the fifth head of Brahman. The murder of a brahman is the highest sin. The expiation rules by Dharmaśāstra, for example by *Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra* I, 10, 29, is to go on pilgrimage, as a beggar, naked or dressed with a dog-skin, holding a bowl made of the head of the murdered person. In order to expiate his sin, Śiva creates a being which in diverse purāṇa-s is called Bhairava or Bhikṣāṭana. Bhikṣāṭana appears thus sometimes as this expiating criminal wandering in *Darūvana*, with a fearful appearance, in spite of which he attracts the wives of the sages. The myth of the expiation has been fused with the myth of the beautiful yogin. Or Bhairava is told to approach Viṣṇu's abode, to kill Viśvaksena who was guarding the entrance. And he has a second murder to expiate. After receiving from Viṣṇu an alm of blood, he goes to Vārāṇasi, carrying in addition the skeleton of Viśvaksena on a pike. This is the distinctive feature of another aspect of Śiva, called

Kaṅkalādhara. The intention of this myth is also to establish the superiority of Śiva, but it shows him under a terrific aspect.

Purāṇic literature reveals thus two aspects of that myth. The first is serene and demonstrates the virtue of yoga. The second one is terrific and establishes the virtue of expiation. Bhikṣāṭana is properly the name of the first, Bhairava of the second. But there is an intermingling of the two themes with different degrees and the name of Bhikṣāṭana can be extended to figures mixed with Bhairava.

The tantric sources introduce regularly the designation of *mūrtti* for Bhikṣāṭana, but not for Bhairava. The concept of *murtti* is useful to distinguish these two mythical beings.

The word *mūrtti* is derived from the root *mūrcchā mohasamucchrāyayoh* "swooning, getting solidified" with the suffixe *ktin* according to Pāṇini's rule "striyām ktin" 3, 3, 94. This suffix may express the sense of action or of any factor of action, except the agent, according to Panini "bhave / akartari ..." 3, 3, 18-19. Here it is taken as expressing the object of the action meant by the root. Thus *mūrtti* refers generally to a solid, consistant, visible form or body of an entity which is not visible by essence. The same entity may have several such *mūrtti-s*. In Śaivāgamas *mūrtti-s* are different bodies or visible forms of Śiva. Several sets of *mūrtti-s* are found listed in different texts, as Śiva is considered under several aspects.

The set in which Bhikṣāṭana is included in *Vātula-tantra*, is told to be a set of bodies of the Maheśa-*tattva*. *Śaivasiddhānta*, among the śaiva schools of tantra, accepts a scale of thirty-six *tattva-s*, which are the essence of matter, upto *māyā*, and, at the top, five pure essences *(śuddha-tattva)* which are diversely conceived as the essence of the supreme Śiva considered in its totality or in parts, or as several stages of a pure matter called *śuddha-māyā* or *bindu*. The essence of Śiva is *cit*, whereas *bindu* is *acit*. Whether they are Śiva or *bindu*, these five pure *tattvas* are considered as having different functions and bodies apt to accomplish them. These forms are *mūrtti-s*. At the top of the scale is the supreme Śiva, unique, unalterable and unmanifest. Then comes his Śakti, then Sadāśiva who is a differentiated aspect of śakti. It includes five unmanifest entities called *sadākhya*, also called the five heads of Sadāśiva. From one tenth of śakti is born the *karma-sadākhya*. It represents the active state *(adhikārāvasthā)* of God in unmanifest form. It is also called *karmeśa*. The fourth *tattva*, Maheśvara, is its offspring.

कर्मेशस्य सहस्रांशान्महेशस्य समुद्भवः।
महेशं सकलं विद्यात्सृष्टिस्थितिलयावहम्॥
पञ्चविंशतिभेदैस्तु तन्मूर्तिर्विविधा भवेत्।

"Maheśa is born from the thousandth part of Karmeśa. One should know Maheśa as made of parts *(sakala)* and conveyor of creation, maintenance and destruction. Through twenty-five varieties his body is differentiated." Maheśa-*tattva* is thus a concept representing the active aspect of God, in its manifested form, and in a differentiable manner. Each difference is liable to be made visible in a body or *mūrtti.*

The number of *mūrtti-s* varies from one *āgama* to another : 10 *mūrti-s* born of Maheśvara and 10 of Rudra according to *Ajitāgama*, 14 in *Rauravāgama*, 16 in *Dīptāgama*, 18 in *Kiraṇāgama*, 25 in *Vātulaśuddhāgama*, etc. Bhikṣāṭana and Kaṇkāla are regularly found in these lists. This is enough to differentiate them from Bhairava. Bhairava is not a *mūrtti* of Śiva himself. In *Śaivasiddhānta* literature he appears as a divine being, different from Śiva, even though he has been engendered by Śiva. For instance in *Somaśambhupaddhati* he is told to be born from the wrath of the god and to have the name Damana, in *Īśānaśivadevagurupaddhati* Śiva produced fire from his third eye and that fire became Bhairava who reduced Kāma to ashes. Apart from this the name of Bhairava does not appear at all, even among the *āvarana-devatā-s.* We come across Kṣetrapāla who is a deity of terrific aspect with the apparel of the expiating criminal. Kṣetrapāla is not a *mūrtti* of Śiva. It is a different deity, frequently described in *śaivāgama-s*, but not among the *mūrtti-s.*

The name of Bhikṣāṭana-mūrtti has a clear meaning : "one who wanders for alms" and refers to the characteristic feature of this aspect of the god. *Ajitāgama* calls him also by the names *Unmatta* "mad" or *Unmanas* "whose mind is gone astray" *(udgataṃ mano yasya).* The first refers to an extreme state of intoxication, loss of reason and normal behaviour, the latter to an extreme state of passion with also loss of the normal usage of mind. *Ajitāgama* describes the outward features thus (36, 219-223) :

उन्मनस्त्वधुनोच्यते। रसश्वेतं प्रसन्नास्यं कुञ्चिताकीर्णमूर्धजम्॥
पादुकोपरि विन्यस्तपादयुग्मसरोरुहम्। तयोर्वामेतरं कुर्यात्क्षिप्यमाणसपादुकम्॥
सुस्थितं वामपादेन समभङ्गसमन्वितम्। दक्षिणं हरिणालीढमन्यड्डमरुकं दधत्॥
भिक्षापात्रं च पिञ्छं च वामभागे वहत्करे। नागमेखलसंयुक्तं गणनाथेन चैव हि॥
गायता वहता भिक्षापात्रं वामे तु धाविना। एवं भिक्षाटनं प्रोक्तम् ...

"Now *Unmanas* is told. He is white like quick-silver, has a serene face, hair scattered and curled, his lotus-like feet placed on sandals, ...one should make the right foot offsetting with its sandal ...; he is well planted on the left foot, has a simple bent of the body, holds his right hand licked by a deer, holds a ḍamaru in the other right hand, carries an alm-bowl and a pea-cock feather in his left hands, has a serpent as girdle, and is with an excellent dwarf attendant singing, carrying an alm-bowl and running on his left side. Thus has been told Bhikṣāṭana."

Kaṅkāladhara- (or in a shorter form, Kaṅkāla-) mūrtti is to be considered jointly with Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, because of its close relationship. Ajitāgama describes him thus (36, 224-228) :

श्वेतवर्णं प्रसन्नास्यं जटामकुटसयुतम्। नागकङ्कणसंयुक्तं नागमेखलसंयुतम्।।
दिव्याम्बरधरं देवं पूर्ववत्पादुकाङ्घ्रिकम्। दक्षिणं हरिणालीढं वामे कङ्कालकं तथा।।
कराभ्यामितराभ्यां च ढक्कावादनतत्परम्। वहता शिरसा भिक्षापात्रमन्येन गायता।।
छत्रं च वहतान्येन वृषमानयतापि च। गणेनानुगतं देवमनेकेन महौजसा।।
स्त्रीगणैरनुयातं च बहुभिः काममोहितैः। कङ्कालरूपमुद्दिष्टम् ...

"The form of Kaṅkāla is of white colour; he has a serene face, a crown of matted hair, serpents as bracelets, a serpent as belt, a shining lower dress, the feet like the previous form (i.e. in walking position); he has his right hand licked by a deer, a dead body in the left hand; he is occupied in playing *ḍhakkā* with two other hands; he is followed by several dwarf attendants of great strength, one carrying an alm-bowl on the head, another singing, another carrying an umbrella, and another guiding the bull; he is followed by many groups of women maddened by desire. Thus the form of Kaṅkāla has been told."

The relationship of these descriptions with the myths mentioned above is evident. But it is also a striking fact that two kinds of features are mixed together. Some are attractive, such as the serene face, the ornaments, etc. Some are repulsive, such as the skull or dead body, the begging attitude, etc. These descriptions illustrate thus the Bhikṣāṭana aspect which has been mingled with the Bhairava aspect. And to distinguish the two, we have to consider the concept of *mūrtti*, as we have seen earlier. The Bhikṣāṭana described here has something of the expiatory equipment. And his definition as a yogin is not apparent at all. We even note that his nakedness mentioned in purāṇa-s, is not mentioned in the *āgama*.

The distinction between Bhikṣāṭana and Kaṅkāla is not evident. Both are *mūrttis*. And they have many features in common. The characteristic feature given to Bhikṣāṭana in the purāṇic account, namely the

accompaniment by the maddened wives of the sages of Dāruvana, is transferred to Kaṅkāla in the *agama. Rauravāgama* lists among the features of Bhikṣāṭana the holding of the dead body of a *daitya* on a pike, whereas this is generally considered as the distinctive feature of Kaṅkāla. That indicates some contamination of the two figures. But in *āgamic* descriptions there remains at least one feature which pertains to Kaṅkāla, which is not shared by Bhikṣāṭana and which may serve to the identification of the first, i.e., the small *ḍhakā* drum held in one hand, the other hand holding a short stick to beat it and make it resound.

The purāṇic themes and *āgamic* descriptions are illustrated in countless numbers, in statues of stone or bronze, in low or high relief, in temples of Tamilnāḍu. Dravidian sculptors have retained mostly the attractive features. They have applied their art to the rendering of the youth and beauty of the ascetic. They generally show him naked. They emphasize thus his yogic aspect. Outside Tamilnāḍu Bhikṣāṭana images are met with in small numbers. Only Orissa has an appreciable number of this form of Śiva in stone sculpture. There Bhikṣāṭana, like many other *mūrtti-s*, is *ūrdhvaliṅga*. This also emphasizes the yogic nature.

Finally, we would like to mention a rather different image seen on the walls of the Kandarīya Mahādeva temple at Khajurāho. It is a standing figure in walking position. The body is slightly bent. It has four arms : one right hand is hanging, the other holds a *triśūla*, one left hand holds a *kamandalu*, the other a serpent. It is dressed, fully ornamented and smiling. In addition to this, it is surrounded by images of women in amorous attitudes or even in erotic actions. Jean Filliozat has put forward the hypothesis—it could be identified as Bhikaṣāṭana. It would be the young, serene ascetic in the Dāruvana, who keeps his serenity amidst the scenes of excessive passions, and who shows thus his yogic mastery, his superiority over the world. This hypothesis has the merit to relate these scenes to a textual purāṇic and *āgamic* base. It discards also other, not so well grounded, hypothesis of representations of the plays of celestial damsels or of secret tantric practices. It is not believable that secret practices of obscure licentious tantric sects would be displayed on the walls of the magnificent architecture of Kandarīya Mahādeva temple. It is more likely that this is a display of the weakness of the human condition when it is subservient to the senses, contrasted with the grandeur of yogic mastery and of the sovereignty of the Lord, which is the most appropriate theme for a grand monument erected to glorify Śiva.

Lakulasaivas in Karnataka

Dr. (Mrs.) Vasundhara Filliozat

With regard to the art of building temples Karnataka owes much to Lakulaśaivas who have contributed considerably for the glory of the state between the VII and XV centuries A.D. It was a highly educated and cultured society of people. Their scholarship was not limited only to the study of Sanskritic studies but also to the enrichment of local languages. But such a cultured population had disappeared today leaving behind only temples and inscriptions. What happened to their literary works is, although unknown at present, a thorough study of the sources will reveal the truth. Although it is not an easy task to retrace their history by only depending upon the inscriptions and temples. A host of epigraphs record interesting and important facts about them. Both temples and the inscriptions are numerous. Haveri, Byadgi, Ranebennur and Hirekerur are four *tālukas* in Karnataka. They record nearly hundred and eighty temples and the number of inscriptions crosses the bar of seven hundred. Of these hundred and eighty villages nearly hundred and fifty of them contain temples to Śiva and the rest are for Viṣṇu and Jain.

The Lakulaśaiva sect consists of Kāḷāmukhas, Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas and Kaulas. They were the worshippers of Lakuḷīśa, i.e., Śiva. This Lakulīśa is variously spelt as Laguḍīśa, Nakulīśa, Laguḍaśiva, etc. In sculptures he is represented with *"laguḍa* or *lākuḷa"* a stick in one of his hands. While studying the history of Lākuḷasaivas one should bear in mind to distinguish Kālāmukhas and Pāśupatas from Kāpālikas and Kauḷas. Though all of them were the followers of Lākuḷāgamas there was some difference in their application. The latter two sects opted for *"vāmapantha"* while the first remained away from it. This article is restricted to the study of Kāḷāmukhas and Pāśupatas in Karnataka and the general term "Lākuḷaśaiva" is used to denote them.

In the course of the study of Lākuḷaśaivas in Karnataka one comes across the following problems namely the meaning of the term Kāḷāmukha, why was this movement so popular in the South, from where did they come to the down South and so on? In Karnataka why were Kāḷāmukhas more active than the Pāśupatas?

At present nobody is in a position to answer why the Kāḷāmukha movement was more in fervour than the Pāśupatas in Karnataka. Out of numerous inscriptions many mention Kāḷāmukhas, a few Kāḷānana, and 'asitavaktra' occurs in an ignorable number. "Black face" is the general meaning given to all these terms. In some of the literary works of XIV and XV centuries it is mentioned that these Saivas were smearing black colour on their faces; hence the appellation "Kāḷāmukhas". It is difficult to accept this prejudiced meaning of "black face" when the magnificent monuments and the munificent inscriptions stand as witnesses of the past glory and elevated culture of Kāḷāmukhas.

It may be interpreted in another way too. Śiva is called Kālā Sadāśiva, Mahēśvara, etc. Sadāśiva is the supreme god and he has five faces. *Vatulaśuddhāgama* mentions that each face of Sadāśiva is worshipped in the form of limga, i.e., cylindrical form. Kāḷāmukhas were the great devotees of Kāḷā (Śiva) with his five *mukhas* (faces). So worshippers of *mukhas* of Kāla became "Kāḷāmukhas".

In Karnataka there is a place called Talakāḍu near Mysore where there are five temples dedicated to Śiva and the group is called by the name "Paṇcaliṇgēśvara". Each shrine goes by one of the names of five faces of Siva. In the X century Kalamukhas built these temples to worship Śiva. The Kāḷāmukha movement started in Karnataka on noble purposes with equally noble ideals. But, according to the law of nature "*jātasya maraṇaṃ dhruvam*" the system begun on a noble basis in course of time might have degenerated and declined leaving room for the adversery parties to express their prejudiced opinions. Unfortunately only these sources are at the disposal of the present day historians to retrace the history of Kālāmukhas.

From where and why they came to Karnataka is another question to be tackled. Dr. M.H. Krishna is of the opinion that the Lākuḷaśaivas came to Karnataka from Kashmir.[1]

Nay, they did not come only from Kashmir. From different quarters of India they reached various parts of Karnataka and established themselves at different important administrative units of those days. To cite an example :

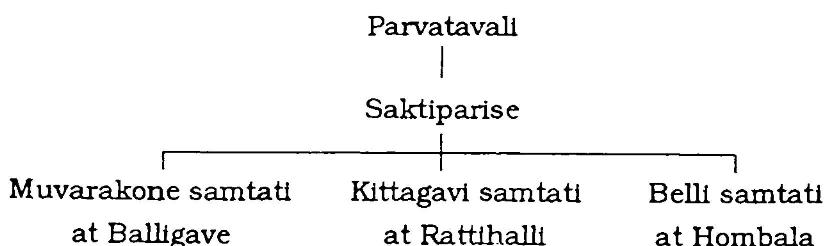
In the present Bijapur district there is a place called "Tardavāḍi". Tardavāḍi 1000 was one of the important administrative divisions in

the days of Cāḷukyas. A Kāśmirapaṇḍita came from Kāśmīr and set up his own school and thus became instrumental in the coming up of many temples in this region around. He must have been a highly well read scholar because the inscription while making his eulogy says that it looked as if Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, having adorned herself with *vēdasārā* came from Kaśmīr to reside at Kaśmīr *munimdra*'s place. Here while the inscription mentions the disciples of the Paṇḍita, the absence of the word "kāḷāmukha or Pāśupata' is noteworthy.

Whereas the inscriptions at Balligave clearly mention that Kēdāra muni came from Kēdāra and had a temple built for Śiva in the name of Kēdārēśvara, an inscription in the templeyard says *"Parvatāmnāyada mūvaru kōṇeya saṃtānada śaktipariṣeyoḷnegaltavededu śiṣya catakavarṣākālāmukharenisida kāḷāmukharol.."* (having acquired renown in the Śaktiparise of the Mūvarakōṇo saṃtati of the Parvatāmnāya like the rainy season to the *cātaka* birds the disciples, were the Kāḷāmukhas). (Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII, Shikaripur 100).

In this line of Muvarakonesamtati was *Vamasakti* by "whose grace the Kalpavrksa in the Kedaramatha threw out branches was filled with sprouts, blossomed and spread into all the world".[2] There is some historicity in it although it is said poetically and metaphorically. Through the efforts of *Vamasakti* branches were opened at Rattihalli and Hombala where his disciples were nominated for the pontifical seats. In both these *mathas* the lineage of spiritual heads begins with Vamasakti. (Karnataka ins. Vol. VI, No. 37 and 38; S.I.I. Vol. XV, No. 83).

Each centre or *matha* was called "samtati" and the section "parise" and the school avali or amnaya. In other words the formula used to be : *"parvatavaliya saktipariseya kittagavisamtati* or *muvarakonesamtati* or *bellisamtati."* It can be shown as follows :



In this way many main schools were established in different parts of Karnataka by the saints coming from various regions of India. By and large the temples built by Kalamukhas were of three and sometimes of four cells. Always a *"matha"* or a centre for learning was attached to it where many subjects were taught along with the regional languages.

In the beginning, Brahma and Visnu along with Mahesvara in the central shrine were set up in these temples. But as the time passed on, gradually Brahma was replaced by Surya and by the end of XIII century this feature became rare and the images of Limga occupied all the three sanctums. To substantiate this statement the following examples may be cited here :

In the realm of Calukyas of Kalyan there were two territorial divisions called "Guttaval" identified with modern Guttala and "Rattipalli 100" identical with modern Rattihalli town. Svayambhu Somesvara and Kadambesvara were the temples in these two places respectively and were worshipped by the chieftains of these two principalities. But, when the pontiffs of Kittagavisamtati became the preceptors of these two families both the temples, by the end of thirteenth century, were converted into tripple celled shrines and Limgas were housed in all.[3]

Thus, there was a change in the style of installation of images due to the change in the conception of *traipurusa* images. As said above, these *traipurusas* were Mahesvara, Visnu, and either Brahma or Surya. But, in the subsequent decades the limgas were installed either in the name of a living or deceased person. It is believed that after the death the departed soul unites with the God. Thus the nonexistent person is deified. From the latter half of XIII century installation of Limgas in the name of the deceased ones became very frequent. Nevertheless, there was no change in the style of architecture of the monuments. The examples of tripple-celled Saiva shrines were as late as XVI century.

Irrespective of Samtati, parise, amnaya and the conception of images the worship of seven or eight mother goddesses *(Sapta* or *Asta matrkas)* was one of the salient features of all these temples. A long horizontal panel with the carvings of seven or eight mother goddesses is found almost in every temple of this epoch and generally consecrated in the *ramgamamtapa*, to the right of the main deity.

For Kalamukhas, Siva is the only God and only one. He is at the origin of the universe when he is "nirakar" or "sunya". From this was emerged "Adimurtti". This murtty was at the origin of Sadasiva.[4] There are five Saktis which are associated with five Sadasiva *tattvas.* From the tenth of Parasakti is emerged Sivasadakhya and from a "bindu" of Parasakti sprang Uma, Ambika, Gnani, Isvari and Manonmani. From one thousandth part of Manonmani emanated Gauri. She was influenced by the energy of Uma and created Sarasvati, Durga, Saci and other Sakti goddesses.[4] About how these Sakti goddesses are associated with the world of Siva, an interesting information is found in *Sivatattvacimtamani"* a Kannada *kavya* by Lakkannadamdeasa, a minister of Devaraya II of Samgama kings of Karnataka (Vijayanagara 1424-1446). In this work the 27th *Samdhi* deals with *"Sivalokavistara"*, the description of the world of Siva. According to the poet the "Sivaloka" has a fort with eight gates. Each gate faces one cardinal point and is protected by a Bhairava. They are eight Bhairavas and protectors of fort gates of Sivaloka who should not be confounded with the gods of eight directions or *"dikpalas".*

These Saktis are:

To the East is a Bhairava who is adorned with *damda* and *kamamdalu* with the *vahana* Hamsa (legendary swan). His Sakti is "Brahmi". On the direction of Havyaka i.e. Agni is Rurubhairava. Having mounted on *aja* or ram he holds in his hands *"sula, damaru, khadga* and *khatvanga"* and accompanied by the Sakti "Mahesvari". At the Southern gate is Camdabhairava who holds parrot, *vajra, sakti* and *trisula*. His vehicle is peacock and his Sakti *Kaumari;* in the *Nairtya* (south-west) is the Bhairava named *Krodha* who holds in his hands "*sankha, cakra, gada* and *samga;* his mount is *garuda* or eagle and the Sakti "Vaishnavi"; to the direction of Varuna (West) is *Unmattabhairava* who is adorned with *"samkha, hala* (plough), *khetaka* (shield) and *musala* (pestle)" and he is on *mahisa* (buffalo) and *"Varahi"* is his Sakti; the Bhairava called Kapali is in the north-west direction. He holds in his hands *"sara* (arrow), *vajra, dhanu* (bow) and *sakti".* He is on the *gaja* or an elephant accompanied by "Imdrani"; in the North is Bhisana Bhairava who is embellished with *"sula, damaru, ghanta* and *kapala"*. His vehicle is *kaka* or crow and Sakti is "Camunda"; to the *Isana* (North-east) is Samhara Bhairava who is bedecked with *"khadga* (sword), *gada* (mace), *khetak* and *phalaka"*, his vehicle is rat and Sakti "Mahakali".[5]

From this table it is clear that the Bhairavas associated with Sivaloka are none but Brahma, Mahesvara, Visnu, Kumara, Indra, etc. and are accompanied by their spouses. A temple to Siva represents the world of Siva to Kalamukhas. So the eight gates have been imagined and a panel of seven or eight mother goddesses is represented in the temple. Very often a panel of seven mother goddesses is met with and rarely eight too.

Apart from Saptamatrakas, the representation of "traipurusa" or with Maheshvara at the centre, Brahma and Vishnu on either ends on the panel above the *sukanasi* door is one of the most common features in these temples. What is more striking is that of images of Ganesa and either Sarasvati or Mahisasuramardini at either fag ends of the same panel. Also on the door jambs apart from Damdin and Mumdin, *dvarapalakas* of Siva, other sculptures such as Madana, Rati, Nandin, Bhringi are also met with. It is to be noted that these are the elements mentioned in the *agamas* and *paddhatis* of Saivasiddhantins of Tamilnadu.

A host of inscriptions mention Lakulagama and there are a few which mention both Lakulagamas and Suddhasaivagamas. In such cases it is difficult to decide their interrelationship and the inter-influence. At present, from our studies it is too early to deduce or form any opinion on the influence of one over the other or mutual relationship. An inscription from Salotgi in Bijapur district refers to "Somasambhu Lakulagama" in the following manner ;

"A devargacaryarvedagamasomasambhulakulasiddhamtadi *śakatagama* rmedinisamstutyarenipa muniyamaresam..." (S.I.I. XX. No. 179. lines. 48-49). Amaresamuni, the Acharya of that god (name mentioned - Bhogesvara) being praised on the earth as an expert in Vedas, *agamas, Somasambhu lakulagamasiddhamta* etc all the aamas". As was their wont in the bygone days, no punctuations were used. So it is difficult where exactly a comma should be put was *Somasambhu* a part of Lajkulagama or a separate work? This inscription is datable to 1188 A.D. It helps to determine the date of Somasambhu, the author of the *paddhati.*

Along with the Kalamukhas another topic to be dealt with is that of Pasupatas. Some schools were followers of Kalamukha whereas others were of Pasupata. Amongst the Pasupata School some mention

"abhinava Pasupata" but we have no indications about the difference between the two. All the three schools namely Kalamukha, Pasupata and Abhinava Pasupata were contemporaries. Dr. M.M. Kalburgi thinks that Abhinava Pasupata is the transitional stage between Pasupata and modern Virasaivism.[6] He proves his theory with reference to a few epigraphical evidences, but in our opinion the subject needs a deeper study due to following reasons :

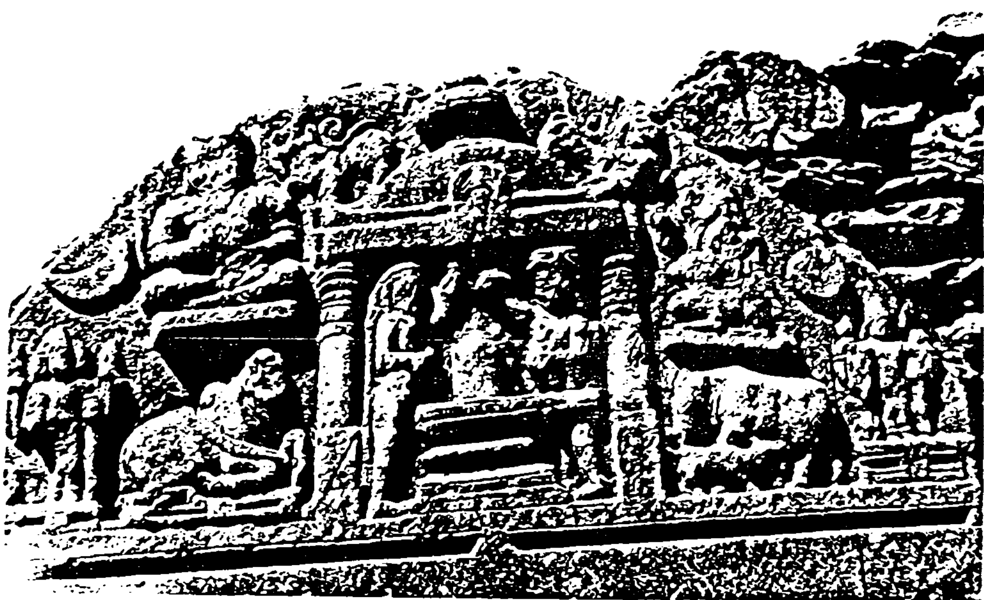
Dr. Kalburgi mentions a Pamdita called Somesvara of Simhaparise. There are two places in Karnataka and both are called Asumdi. One is in Gadag and the other in Ranebennur talukas of Dharwar district. There was "Simhaparisematha" in both the Asumdis. In 1074 A.D. Sovarasipamdita of Asumdi (Ranebennur taluk) was recipient of one grant. The same person is called in another inscription dated 1127 A.D. Somesvarapamdita. He was probably the Acarya of Simgaparisematha belonging to Pasupata sect. Our friend, noted scholar Dr. Kalburgi, had taken into account only the inscriptions in Gadag and Bellary and so on but did not get a chance to see above mentioed epigraphs of Asundi in Ranebennur taluk. In the Semicircular top portion of the inscription dated 1074 an interesting picture of "Simhaparisematha"[7] (Photos 1 & 2) is depicted. This Simhaparisematha mentions "Pasupata" and not the Abhinavapasupata like the one in Asumdiat Gadag.

According to Sivatattvacimtamani the description of Pasupata murtti is as follows:

In the Sivaloka, to the west of Mahesvara is Pasupatamurtti seated in *anjali pose.* He is adorned with *"damda, damdapaduka* and *damdabahu".* This description suits very well to the images of Lakulisa-Pasupatamurtti that are found on temple walls and in sanctum sanctorums. However, the images of Lakulisa Pasupata are not very frequently met with in Karnataka unlike in Bhubaneswar.

The co-existence of both Kalamukhas and Pasupatas was in perfect harmony. Both the sects attached more importance to celibacy and learning. Strict rules were applied to the students for leading an unmarried state of life as long as they were in the "goravavada", that is students' hostel. Under the influence of this sect building temples became very common. Records do not fail to mention the provisions made for the maintenance of the temple and an architect attached to

1. Simhaparisematha
Asundi, Ranebennur Taluk, Dharwar Dist.



2. Another inscription from
Asundi, Ranebennur Taluk, Dharwar Dist.

it. So the temple art was quite flourishing and did not suffer from decaying.

But, as the dictum goes "too much is too bad". Maybe the repeated temple erections and grants for their survival made the society feel the weight. As a consequence of this a revolutionary movement of "kayakave kailasa", work in worship was started by Basava, finance minister of Bijjala of Kalacuri family who ruled from Kalyan between 1156 and 1170 A.D. approximately. Basava propounded the practice of worshipping "istalimga", that is the limga of one's own choice. He also advocated that by mere carrying the limga on the body one attains the same merits as by performing various rituals in the temples. He also advanced the ideals of non-sectarian society.

The result of this movement was felt in subsequent centuries. The Kalamukha and Pasupata sects gradually lost their importance and were abosrbed in this neo-saivism which now goes by the name "Virasaivism" or "Limgayat". Ideas of Basava were largely welcomed everywhere. Towards XVI century Lakulasaivism disappeared from the society making place for this "new saivism". The appellation "Virasaiva or Limgayat" is fairly recent. It is not met within the inscriptions. But this new Saivism does not differ much from the old Lakulasaivism. However, Basava did not encourage temple construction. The art of building temples continued to exist but the number decreased. Women were given equal rights as a result of this new movement. An inscription from Arsikere taluk mentions the place of "ganakumari" offered to a lady. The latter managed the temple affairs successfully.[8]

Lakulasaiva society was highly cultured. This is seen in their temples, inscriptions. The literature of this period has been classified under the heading of "Virasaiva" by the modern scholars, which in our opinion is not correct. It is Lakulasaiva literature.

Present day Virasaivas, aradhyas, diksitas, etc., we think, belonged to Lakulasaiva society of the yester centuries.

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3. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XVIII, No. 296; Karnataka Ins. Vol. VI, No. 44. Both these temples are in fairly good condition of preservation and interesting to study from the point of view of architecture.

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5. Lakkanna damdesa : *Sivatattvacimtamani;* ed. by Pandit Cennabasavappa, Prasaranga, Mysore, sandhi 27, verses 4-11.

6. Dr. M.M. Kalburgi, Marg, Naresh and Company, Bangalore, 1988, samput I, p. 190.

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8. E.C. V, Arsikera, No. 108.

The Background of Saiva Culture - A Techno-Evolutionary Approach

Dr. R. N. Dash*

The origin of Śiva is shrouded in mystery. Various authors, texts and reflections of thoughtful men have been attempting to unravel the genesis of Śiva in human civilization. He is alive in the oldest and the recent literatures, archaeological and historical findings, and in the living and receding memory of men and nations. As such, the cultural facets associated with Śiva can be interpreted in the evolutionary lines affecting social change from the point of his weapons of offence, defence and use. The first discoverer or inventor in the Śaiva community was probably worshipped as a god.

In the earliest phase of cultural evolution man protected himself using stone tools. He procured and fashioned stone nodules and flung them at the wild animals. In the palaeolithic times when such tools were used probably Śiva emerged in the cultural frontiers of human civilization. Probably Rudra was the man belonging to the Śaiva community to usher the use of stone tools to overpower the wild beasts. It is quite likely that he made the first stone tool fashioning suitable nodules. In the Rig-Veda, the oldest of the Vedas, we find that Rudra is mentioned as the redresser of miseries. He is further described to have *'Tanka'* (a big stone nodule) as his weapon. This is indicative of His palaeolithic origin.

Most probably the strongest, wielder of weapons, the protector and the witty was chosen as the leader. The man who combined all these might be considered a deity or supreme with uncommon powers. It is very likely that the community which upheld such a man to god-hood was of Śaiva community and the man was no other person than Rudra. Hence, the name Rudra, an earlier synonym of Śiva, of the Rig-Veda came into being during that remote period.

It may be that the Śaivas were cannibals and as such they were dreaded by others as Rudras or of fearful disposition causing panic in others who fled from them for life. Probably this cannibal habit developed following an imitation of the life style in the jungle or caves

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haunted by wild animals and the devouring of the prey after a fight. It is very likely that extreme scarcity of food was the cause to quench the hunger in man and it was his adaptability to introduce new food-habits available at hand. This had given rise to the wearing of skull garlands as a mark of valour and to display to others that the number of skulls wreathed in the garland were victims of the wearer. Such type of notion was found among the wild Naga tribes and other tribes outside India who were cannibals. It is believed that the tribes practising human sacrifices or such other acts were cannibals in the past and example of such a tribe is found among the Konds of Orissa. For this habit, the Rudra, probably earned for them the epithet 'Bhisana'.

When a deadbody could be eaten, it is no wonder that the skull could be used as a pot for drinking water or for various activities and a number of skulls tagged as garlands for decorative purposes. Further the man who was seeking some form of utensil to keep the things he has collected and to bring water to quench his thirst or of his family members could find human skulls available at hand to answer for the needs. Thus, the use of skulls came into being and the community which was successful in finding out and using such a tool was of Śaiva lineage. The people of other communities termed the skull users as Kāpālikas. In spite of the same all the Śaivas were not Kāpālikas. Some serene and mild natured ones were present in the community. Even if they were using skull garlands as a custom of decoration, they were different from the Kāpālikas and Rudras. They were known as Maruts.

Rg-Veda further describes Rudra as Agni or fire. Several *Sūktas* were attributed to Rudra which described him as Agni (Rgveda-I.27.10; III.2.5; IV.3.1; V.3.3; VII.10.4; X.150.1; Samaveda-I.1.2.5; S.V.I.2.2.7). In the *Satapatha Brahmana* Rudra has been equated with Agni indicating complete and regulated use of Agni by the Rudras (S.B. III). It may be that Rudra found out how to make fire though many opine that Angirasas were discoverers of Agni. It was due to keen observation of nature and application of wit that Rudra was able to achieve such a thing. It can only be said that Rudra is the God and Angirases were sages who were praising gods and invoking them for their cooperation. If a difference between the God and the praying individuals is to be made, we can only assign an earlier origin for the deities and the later origin for the worshippers. Hence, Rudra might be the first to discover and use fire for his own sake or for the community he represented at large. This probably termed him as *Tri-Nayana* (three eyed) at a subsequent period. The third eye is always imagined in the middle of

his forehead which may be an allusion to his wit. The use of fire was a mile-stone in the human civilization. Man began to eat burnt and subsequently cooked food by the use of fire and Rudras were credited to have done so for the first time.

In course of their search for food, i.e., food gathering, Rudra devised snares which were laid to catch birds and animals. As such, he was later on considered to have a snare *(Pāśa)* as his weapon *(Āyudha)* [R.V.VII : 46 : 4]. All these discoveries and devices have been converted to the *Āyudhas* or the qualities of Rudra or Śiva. Since the Rudra group of the Saivas or Rudras, rechristened as Śaivas achieved such things in the earliest phase of social evolution, we find mention of the same in the earliest literature, i.e., Rgveda. It may not be the same Rudra to have made fire that had laid a snare for the catch (*Svetāsvetara Upanisad* : III : 1), used a skull for a pot, or fashioned a nodule for a weapon. But it is certain that the Rudra group of the Śaiva community or the Rudra community and their progenies were responsible for such achievements. The *Satarudrīya* verse of Śukla Yajurveda has depicted this in clear terms that there were innumerable Rudras on the earth. (S.Y.V : XVI : 54). Even in the Rgveda we find mention of multi-form (R.V.II : 33 : 9) and many-hued R.V.II : 33 : 10) Rudra as well as Rudra praised by Rudra (Sat.Br.XIV : 2 : 2 : 38) which indicates a Rudra community of different phynotypes and an elder Rudra as the leader of the Rudras. There may be lapse of space and time and the son succeeding father in discovering ways and means for the good of the community at large but they shared the same with others for which all these went by the name of Rudras or Śaivas.

At a subsequent phase bows and arrows were invented probably by the Rudras (S.Y.V:XVI:46), and man resorted to hunting. The Śaiva who resorted to hunting (R.V.II:33:10; S.Y.V.-XVI:2-3) using the bow and the arrow came to be known as Pinākapāni (S.Y.V.XVI:11), i.e., the weilder of bows and arrows. Probably these are preceded by spears which were used as hand thrown misiles. But man could not keep himself at a safe distance from his hunt when he used a spear. The bows and arrows answered these deficiencies in a better way (S.Y.V:XVI:40; *Atharva Veda*.VI.90.1; VI.57.I; I.19.3). The use of the bow and arrow made the Saivas invincible. They took the hunt unawares and that too in less of labour hitherto needed. It opened new avenues for food and leisure. Thus the Saivas, became the *Mangala Vidhāyakas* [S.Y.V.:XVI:41] i.e., well wishers of the people and adorable. Hunting changed the way of life and the Śaivas tied their hair above the head in matted form, i.e. Kapardin (R.V.I:CXIV:1,5) to keep the

eyes free while running behind the chase or to point the arrow on the bow (S.Y.V:XVI:10, 29, 31). Hunting made available for skins of the beasts which were worn for the first time. Thus a speedy running Rudra (S.Y.V:XVI:20) came to be known as Śiva (i.e. fast moving man) [R.V.I:114:4]. From this point man was to be feared rather than fearing the beasts in the wild. It was due to the crafty Śaivas, i.e., the Śaiva tribe people (R.V.VII:18:7) came to be known as 'Pāśupatas', i.e., the lord or controller of the beasts (S.Y.V:XVI:40). It all happened during Rg & Yajurvedic times. After this period probably images and seals were prepared to worship the Śaivas or symbolically the Śiva by the admirers. The remnants of such worship were found from Kalibangan, Harappa and Mohenjodaro besides other Harappan and pre-Harappan sites popularly known as Indus valley sites. Many other names of Śiva appeared in the Yajurvedic period, such as Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Aghora, etc., particularly in the *Vājasanei* and *Taittirīya Saṁhitās.*

The Śaiva community multiplied rapidly because of their well protected social life (S.Y.V.XVI:54). This has been reflected in the *Śata Rudrīya Stava* of *Satapatha Brāhmana* (S.Y.V.XVI). The Rudras have been mentioned in this *stava* as ferocious in nature, awe-inspiring in disposition, richly armed, proficient in weapon weilding skill, surrounding and charging enemies and wild beasts from all directions collectively, etc. This is indicative of their community life which was probably based on lineage. From the intention of preparing a well-organised hunting group it developed to the function of defending their kith and kins from the enemies. The hunting expeditions brought in encroachment on the areas of operation, since Rudra has been prayed as the 'Lord of land-grabbers' (S.Y.V:XVI:22), from which sprang forth enemity and group wars. This necessiated choosing of an able leader to tackle the situation favourably. This brought in the concept of right over an area and region which has been found recorded in the *'Śatapatha Brāhmana'*. From the same we know that the Rudras were shouting in high pitch during the wars (S.Y.V.XVI:19) to generate a fear complex among their enemies. These exclamations were recorded as 'kill, wound, command, victory', etc. It was known that these group wars were turning in favour of the Rudras. For which Rudra, Bhava and Sarva were prayed to protect and not to bring destruction to men, women, children, cattle, etc. Several verses in the Rgveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda have testified this (A.V. - XI:2:1,7,21,22; XI:6:9; SV:III:2; *Prasna Upanisad*:II:9). Women were also taking part in such wars and notable among them were Durgā, Rudra-Kāli, Umā, Ambikā, etc. These names may not be taken as the

name of consorts of a single Rudra. On the other hand they were considered the female counterparts of Rudras who have championed in such wars. Doubt arises as to the number of consorts belonging to Yogīśvara (ascetic) Rudra though it may not be uncommon in those days. In some verses Ambikā is mentioned as the sister of Rudra. In those early periods of social evolution it may not be uncommon to find marriage of a sister as the custom and Rudra or Śaiva community might be practising such a thing. Hence, the mention of Ambikā as the sister or the consort of Rudra was quite likely. In the context of the Aryans these wars were intended to catch cattle, sheep, etc because the Aryans found Rudras as "*Asuras* of heaven, terrific (R.V.I:CXIV:2,3,4), death bringing malevolent deity, should be prayed to in order to be auspicious to men (Rg.veda I:129:3; II:1; I:122:1; VIII:20:17; X:92:6; II:33:10-11; I:114:7-8).

Rudras were hunters. In course of their hunting they spread to various regions occupying the territory of others. The means of hunting being the bow and arrow, and lance it continued for a considerable length of time when stone was gradually replaced by copper, bronze and iron found from the indirect references to copper (S.Y.V:XVI:39) and iron (R.V.-VI.75.15) in the Vedas. Till the beginning of the third century B.C. they were wearing the skin of wild animals (Greek accounts from Megasthenes, Strabo, Curtius and Diodorus and Patanjalis' *Maḥāvasya*) (Choudhury: 1987:7), carried iron lances and shafts (Chaudhury: 1987:7), etc. The wars faught with the Aryans resulted in the defeat of the Aryan people and their gods, who were their leaders. In the earlier phases Rudras were narrated to have reddish body colour (S.Y.V:XVI:3-4) whereas in course of time they were noted to have white colour (R.V.I:XLIII:5), which is indicative of the acceptance of Rudra as an Aryan god.

Rudras were stated to have been living in the hills (S.Y.V:XVI:3-4) or hill caves particularly in the caves of Kạilāśa on the Himalayas for which he was known as Giriśa. Probably such hill abodes were extending from Kashmir to that of Nepal. For the same, the gods or the Aryans believed that Rudra or the Rudras were beyond the influence of wind, cloud, lightning, etc., in short, the harmful forces of nature. Because, when the Aryans and their gods representing the herding community were being troubled with their cattle due to rough weather in the open Rudras remained unperturbed owing to their cave-dwelling. Thus, Rudras and the Aryan gods represented two different cultures such as cave inhabiting hunters and cattle herding nomads

respectively. But in course of time they exchanged knowledge and Rudra was included in the Aryan Pantheon.

Soon after hunting culture yielded place to agriculture resulting in the creation of more leisure hours. It stimulated thinking over various aspects of nature, its function, the coming and passing away of human life, etc. The first thing that struck the living human beings was the sealed life-force in nature and the invisible spirit of the departed. This generated the counter idea of propitiation to allay the fears arising out of the supposed displeasure of the imagined spirits. (S.Y.V:XVI:20) Propitiation called for sacrifices which were officiated by the thread using Siva or Rudra who was addressed as the Lord of sacrifice [R.V.I:XLIII:4 (*Sacred Books of the East* : 419)]. As such, Yajurveda termed the Rudras as *'Upavitina'* (S.Y.V:XVI:17). Along with this, Yoga (meditation) was contemplated to eradicate fear from the minds of men. The Śaivas being the users of skull-garlands, skull-pots and burial dwellers in the caves, in the early phase of evolution, were above such fears. So the Śaivas performed the part of the officiating priests in those matters.

Yoga was intended to think over matters ignoring environmental fears of the manifested world. In this man could rest in eternal bliss losing himself unaffectedly shedding emotional state of the mind. This is the contribution of the Śaivas to the world civilization. It is wholly found thriving in India undiluted by the superimposition of the outside cultures. The Aryans and their gods had ambition and fear of survival whereas the Śaivas developed a sound mental condition unperturbed by various situations and adverse material force or otherwise. The Asuras or the Dānavas defeated the gods or the Aryans time and again but the Śaivas triumphed over them. Thus the Indian arena had become the constant conflicting ground of the Devas and Asuras while Śaivas were keeping them almost out of it until challenged or sought for thier help by others. As such, the mighty Śaivas were regarded as Mahadevas by the Aryans. Probably from this time the dress of Siva included the ochre-coloured cloth, crescent moon decorated fore-head, *akshamālā* and *Damaru*. As the Śaiva population multiplied they spread to various other hilly tracts of India away from the Himālayas, particularly Kailāśa. So a number of Śaivaganas or subgroups emerged among the Śaivas who were identified as Āgamānta, Kālamukha, Kaula, Kāpālika, Digambara, etc. This period may be equated with the propagation of the Brahmana part of the Vedas.

The introduction of agricultural practices and pottery making brought in new dimensions. The wars faught during this period utilised *Vajra*,

Paraśu, spear, *Gadā*, bow and arrow, etc. The use of pottery is attested from the Śukla Yajur-veda (S.Y.V.:XVI:27). Most probably from this time Śaivaganas used pottery in lieu of skull-pots. This fact is beautifully depicted in the legend 'Kapālamocana related in the *Gopatha Brāhmana* (I:2), *Vāmana Purāna*, etc. In course of time the legend had been diluted to bring in the influence of Visnu with a view to reducing the Śaiva supremacy in the Indian scene.

Śiva is considered the Saman (Kālasi) with horns (S.Y.V:XIV:35) set on his head. Such images of Śiva have been found from Mohanjodaro, Harappa, Kalibangan, etc. It is the last phase of the neolithic and the early period of the chalcolithic culture. the early phase of the neolithic has been found from Burzahom, and very close to this place is the Sankara-Parvati peak. Very likely, the most important incident of this period or the period closely following, is *'Daksa Yajña'*. The legend narrates the immolation of Satī, the wife of Śiva, the daughter of Daksa-Prajāpati—an Aryan king [*Mahabharat*, Śānti parva, 184-20]. This marriage did not obtain the sanction of the Aryans and more so, the approval of Daksa himself. In order to prevent this happening Aryans made all possible efforts to kill Satī who was recalcitrant to obey or to uphold the pestige of her own community. So there was a war between the Śaivas and the Aryans in which the Śaivas crushed the Aryan might thoroughly. But the Aryans had become successful in scraping away this most despised marriage of the time even though they had to kill Satī, a female member of their own community.

On the advent of the chalcolithic, copper and bronze ages the social evolution became very rapid. The phase had to witness the use of ornaments and weapons of metal in an ever increasing manner. As such, Śiva appeared to have been decorated with snake, trident and kettle-drum while sitting on a tiger skin for meditation. His carrier, the bull, figured in the image- punched or modelled. The bull carrying Śiva might be a domesticated one. It may be that the Śaivas first started the domestication of cattle following acquisition of these animals from the Aryans, the herding community. Keeping these animals for future use and finding bulls suitable carriers in the hilly regions in lieu of the horse the Śaivas had shown deep insight and given answer to the environmental conditions. These are either dried or burnt. Even the figures of the bull as well as cows appear painted on the pottery. The trident was, probably built in copper or bronze. The weapon continued till the same is remodelled in iron alongwith the sword. Most probably the Bhairavas appeared in the Śaiva

community towards the last phase of this culture and they represented the fierce Śaiva group in the community.

The beginning of the iron age brought in certain checks in the development of Śaiva culture. The iron culture is archaeologically ascertained to that of an Aryan culture. In course of years it developed technologically to challenge the supremacy of the Śaivas, though the earlier varieties of the copper-bronze tools were copied at the first instance. *Śaiva Bhāgavata* of Patanjali informs us that Śaivas were using *Ankuśa* and spear made of iron to defeat the enemies. It indicates that the Śaivas soon reoriented their weapons in iron. For the same the Aryans had to pray Śiva for weapons and instances of Arjuna and Asvasthama asking for weapons from Śiva in the pre and proto-historic periods as well as in the early Christian era changed into the religious and cultural competitions between these two communities till the end of the middle ages. The conflict during the middle ages took the form of conflicts between ruling houses backed by the Śaiva and Aryan supported Vaisnavite kings and emperors. Thereafter it lost its dominance on the advent of the Muhammedan and English invasion and rule.

The Linga worship as a symbol of procreation gradually developed during Rgvedic period. Most probably Linga in Śakti represented the visual process of the same. The Aryans were deadly opposed to this culture and in the Rgveda Indra has been prayed to anihilate the Linga worshipping Śaivas or the *Śisnadevas* who were probably *Digambaras* or nude (Rgveda-VII:21:5; X:99:3). It may be the earliest form of Tantric notion in the Śaiva community translated into the image form. In the *Mahābhārata* Śiva in Linga form has been worshipped as *Sthanumurtti* or the static deity (*Mahabharat*, Drona Parva-202:133,140). Subsequently it spread to different regions in India. Till then it is a living religious practice through the middle ages to the present. Linga worship will remain in the religious and cultural horizon of the society for times to come.

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Siva and Sakti : A Philosophical Perspective

Prof. G. Sundara Ramaiah

(a) Semantic development of Rudra and Siva

This paper is intended to clarify certain issues connected with "the problem of love for extremes as a characteristic trait of Indian Culture". Writers on history of Art[1], critics of Art and religious symbols and idealogy have maintained that the Indian tendency is to press everything to its ultimate limit. Heinrich Zimmer, for example, says that a typical feature of Indian art is that "amazing tendency to go to the very limits of delight and terror, and even to press almost beyond them, in the representation both of the wonders of the world's sensual charm and of the hair-raising, horrifying aspects of destructive forces".[2] Unmindful of the famous saying of the Middle path (*Madhyamapada*) of Buddhism, and the saying of the Dharma sastrakara's caution - *'Ati Sarvatra Varjayet'*, several accusitions were made about horrifying nature of Lord Shiva and Goddess Kali (Shakti). Whether or not these two primordial Gods are illustrative of such general traits in the Indian culture, both these Gods represent, it seems, a fundamental changing process in the conceptualization of the primary creative and protective forces.

It is true that some of the external phenomena in the nature are pleasing *(Sundara)*, vivifying and benign; and other forms are terrible, dispiriting and destructive. The dreadful and destructive phenomena are usually the storms that uproot trees and even demolish houses, accompanied by thunderbolt which strikes down men and beasts dead in a moment. In these natural forms of destructive force, the Vedic Aryan saw a very powerful deity called Rudra, who goes about howling with stormy winds (Maruts). But the imaginative and creative mind of man does not believe that destructive power is the only power reigning in the Universe. All the dreadful phenomenon can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the God becomes Siva or the benign Lord.

A study of the literature connected with Rudra and Siva reveals that it is the natural process of the human mind to proceed from anger and

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wrath to that of tranquility *(santam)*. The dreadful form of Lord Rudra gradually gives place to Siva, who became the Supreme Lord endowed with creation, sustenance and destruction *(Srsti, Sthiti* and *Laya)*, the cosmic functions, and settles down in the created forms as Truth, Knowledge and Bliss (*Satyam, Sivam* and *Sundaram*).

The Vedic literature, specially the Brahmana portion, contains an elaborate descriptions about the birth, nature, characteristics of Rudra as a fearful and destructive force in the cosmos. Initially he is represented as discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and earth (Rv. VII. 46.3), and as possessing weapons which slay cows and men. Here the destructive power seems to be identical with lightning and prayers are addressed to Rudra not to kill the cattle and men. And when in consequence of prayers or natural course of things, the cattle and men go unharmed, Rudra is represented as 'Pasupa' or protector of the cattle (R.V.I.114.9). When men suffered from sickness and are relieved from it, that was also attributed to Siva and he becomes the physician of all physicians *(Bhisak)* and he possessed thousands of medicines and also their curative power (R.V. VII. 46.3). The general character of the prayers addressed to Rudra is as follows :

"Oh Rudra ! do not, out of thy anger, injure our children, and descendents, our people, our cattle, our houses and do not kill our men. We invoke Thee always with offerings" (R.V. VII. 46.2).

(b) **Rudra's association with the God of death : Creation and Cremation**

That Rudra was the form of God Yama or God of death is one of the important themes of the Vedic literature. Rudra was the God of Death. He was associated with the spirits of the dead *(Preta)* and Cremation ground. It is a general practice in South India, particularly, among the Andhras, that at the time of Cremation, rice-balls *(Pinda)* are offered to Rudra and it is believed that Maruts will carry away the *Preta* to Rudra Loka (Cf. *Apasthamba*, on *Asthisancayana*). The *Pitrs* are divided according to *Sraddha* and *Tarpana*-ritual, into three classes : (i) Vasus, (ii) Rudras, and (iii) Adityas. Several passages of the Vedic literature explain in a satisfactory manner as to why Rudra is associated with the God of death. It is due to the ascription of some of terrible and dispiring and destructive characteristic to Siva that made probably the Vedic mind to associate Siva with the God of death. His association with the Lord of Death, and his dwelling place as

smasana should not be mistaken as if he is placed a lower state. Here becomes a Bhutanatha, a Bhutapati and a Bhuta adhipati.[3]

(c) Rudra's association with Agni

Another important aspect of Rudra's character is his close association with Agni (the Lord of Cosmic Fire). Agni was the 'messenger' and Ambassador between Men and Gods. Though a terrestrial God, Agni was also present in the other regions of the universe. The presence of Agni in all the three regions of the universe is a matter of common observation. He is the conveyer of oblations offered to Gods. He is the guide to lead the spirits to the unknown paths. Agni was entreated not to burn the dead man, nor cause him pain, and was requested to be satisfied with the offerings that were made.

The nature and characteristics of Rudra appear in a much more developed form in *"Satarudriya"*.[4] His benignant form is (Siva *tanuh*) is distinguished from its opposite, the malignant. He is called Girisa, Girita and in his character as the healer he appears as the great physician, and as the Lord of cattle as *Pasunam Patih.* In this manner the range of Rudra became so wide that he became to be called by several names. Thus when his wrathful nature is thus appeased, his benignant form is projected splendidly.[5] Then he becomes Siva, Samkara, Krttim Vasana (wearing a hide). The significance of Rudra - Siva becomes more clear when he becomes the great leader of the tribes (*Ganas* or *Ganapatis*). Thus he becomes the great leader of work-men, potters, cart-makers, carpenters and all men involved in work and production oriented activity. Since these groups of people were large in numbers the worship of Ganapatyas and finally Ganapati becomes very important. Thus from the habitation of Rudra-Siva from mountains, forests, fields and various other places is shifted to the civilized habitations and he lives in the hearts of men, women and children.

The developmental conceptualization of Rudra-Siva, as said above, takes a different turn when his energised form is said to be the inherent power in all the Gods.[6] The all encompassing form of Rudra-Siva is brought out in the conception of Panca Mukha Rudra. As in the case of the Sun God the several ways of looking at Him gave rise to the conception of several Sun deities such as Savitr, Surya and Mitra, Pusan and so on, so the same terrible and destructive power in nature with its benignant and gracious counterpart, looked at from different points of view, gave rise to the belief in eight names of Rudra-Siva.

They are all regarded as the names of Lord Rudra. Of these eight names four are regarded as the indications of his destructive power, while the other four are regarded as his benignant power.

Names of Siva associated with Destructive power	Names of Siva associated with benignant power
Rudra	Bhava
Sarva	Pasupati
Ugra	Mahadeva
Asani	Mahan deva
	Isana

In the course of the conceptualization the terrible and the destructive God became, when he was propitiated by men in a variety of ways, a benignant God and attained to the whole majesty of the Godhead and it is on the majestic form of Rudra-Siva that the theosophic speculations of *Svetasvetara Upanishad*[7] broods over.

Quite apart from the complicated rituals that are connected with the 'Satarudra Yaga', a simple faith has been developed among the ordinary folks to dispel any evil. The *Paraskara Grhyasutra* informs us about these simple rituals which have some social bearing and are practised even now a days. Prayers and Obeisance are addressed to Rudra for the safe conduct of the travel, when crossing a river, entering a forest, ascending a mountain, passing by a cemetery and such other places. It is worthwhile to note what Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar has said about the importance of Rudra-Siva cult.

The Impact of Saivism on Andhras : Temple Rituals

Saivism is the most popular religion in Andhradesa during the rule of Satavahanas and Kakatiyas. it enjoyed the patronage of Kings and had a fairly large number of followers. Almost all the well known schools and cults of Saivism like the Pasupata, the Kalamukha, the Vira Saiva, the Sivadvaita and Saiva Siddhanta and Vira Saiva, Lingayats could be found in Andhradesa. It is true that temples played a very significant role in shaping the religious life of the people from the point of devotion and piety. Temples were not only potential institutions in formulating the religious beliefs and faiths but they were also centres of socio-economic and cultural activities. The extent of the influence of a temple on the people is mainly dependent upon its resources.

Temple as a source of amity and employment

The priests or *Pujaris* who conduct the worship or *puja* in the temples acted as ideal persons fostering social discipline and amity among the village folk. While the priests in the Vaishnava temples are known as Nambiyars or Jiyyars, the Saiva priests are known as Sri Rudras, Sri Maheswaras, and Tambalas. The number of priests varied from temple to temple. Senapati Purandhara is the administrative chief who looked after the smooth running of the general administration of the temple. Parupatyagar was the executive officer who controls the administrative staff. While these two persons are of official in nature, others are intended to do direct service to God. Vinnapam Saivar is the person who recited sacred names of the God and sacred texts like *Saiva Agamas* and *Saiva Prabandham* of Alvars. Tiruppatiyar is the person incharge of lights at the temple. Tiruppani Saivar is the person who carried the umbrella for God. Devadasis used to render service at the temple. These people are called Tiruvidhisanis. In course of time, all these well established functions of the temple underwent some change.

II

The history and meaning of Sakti in the Indian Cultural context is a very important phenomenon. Her influence on Indian Tradition is of two kinds : (1) a positive influence, and (2) a negative influence. When she is considered the cosmic creative power, the 'Mother of all Mothers' (*Sarva Matrka*) and as the root of all *Mantras, Tantras* and *Yantras (Sarva Mantratmake, Sarva Tantratmake, Sarva Yantratmake)*, her positive role is visible. On the other hand, when her terrific form alone is presented, then the negative aspect of Kali (Sakti) is revealed. But some writers on the nature and significance of Sakti preferred to project her negative aspect rather than some of the positive aspects for which the Sakti Cult stands itself, at least in its developmental forms.

First we shall consider some of the arguments put forward in support of the negative aspect of Sakti in the form of Kali. But let us hasten to add that Kali is only one aspect or one form of Sakti and there are many other aspects of Sakti. Ignoring these other forms of Sakti, which are benignant in themselves and committing to a particular form of Sakti, i.e., Kali, in her terrific appearance, thinkers like Heinrich Zimmer, and C. Oman and many others allowed themselves to comit to a particular kind of interpretation of Sakti. She is considered a Goddess

of Thus, Crazy aboriginal people and those who practised Vamacara Tantra and so on. Some writers did not hesitate to say that when compared with Siva's terrible forms *(Ghora rupa)*, Kali stands out as a wild, frantic and most terrible goddess. In spite of this, these authors do not hesitate to acknowledge her extraordinary popularity in the Hindu tradition. If one takes into consideration the historical development of Sakti and her various manifested forms *(Cidrupas)*, mythology and iconography and the literature, particularly the devotional songs *(Stutis, stavas, laharis, stotras)*, the misconceptions that are prevalent about Sakti can be set aside, at least in the academic circles.

A careful look into the early Vedic literature indicates several names of Goddess like Ushas, Aditi, Ratri, Kali, Nirvti, Uma, Rudrani, Bhavani, Sarvani. Whether all these names are suggestive of one Great Goddess (Maha Devi) or independent Goddess, we are not sure. According to Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, at least some of them "are simply derivatives and do not show a belief in the existance of an independent powerful goddess". The seven Saktis – Brahmi, Maheswari, Kumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Narasimhi, and Aindri – are the powers or spirits of the Gods from whom their names are derived, and are called as the excellent forms *(vibhutis)* of the Maha Sakti. Among the names by which the Great Goddess is addressed we come across the following:

Kumari, Kali, Kapali, Mahakali, Candi, Katyayani, Karala, Vijaya, Kausiki, Uma, Kantaravasini, and so on. The question is whether all these names are suggestive of one Great Goddess or are they different manifestations of the one Great Goddess or are they independent Gods. No single answer could be found to these questions in the Sakti literature. Depending upon the concept of Abhimana Devata, and context each of these Goddesses became prominent and more prominent are Kali and Durga for their terrific form and Lalita for her enchanting beauty and benevolence. Some critics observe that these are not merely names, but indicate different goddesses who owed their conception to different historical conditions, but who were afterwards identified with the one goddess by the usual mental habit of unification process of Hindus.

Classification of goddesses into terrible and benevolent forms

Kali	Uma
Karala	Aditi
Durga	Usas
Candi	Brahmi

Mundi
Camunda
Mahisasuramardini
Tripura Sundari
Sambhavi
Maheswari
Katyayani
Annapurneswari
Minaksi

The process of unification was attempted at three levels. First we have a conception of goddess as the protector, who dwells in the forests and to whom animals and even human beings were sacrificed and oblations of wine were offered. These goddesses were worshipped by the wild tribes such as Pulindas, Sabaras, Nisadas and Barbaras, who just lived a life based upon the concept that violence is not a sin. They preferred to worship the fearful aspect of the Sakti and called it by different names Kali, Karala, Candi, Camundi and so on.

A third and powerful element in the conception of these goddesses is that of Sakti or power. The powers of willing, acting and creating were conceived of as goddesses as the noun Sakti is of the feminine gender. The seven goddesses, Brahmi, Maheswari, Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Varahi, Narasimhi, and Aindri, owe their origin to this process of conceptualization of Sakti as the most powerful goddess. In course of time, some of the Brahmanic families and *ksatriya* families preferred to have tutelary goddesses and thus we have many goddesses. This kind of conceptualization did not stop at the Brahmanic culture. It went down to folk lore level and village goddesses were invented and their number is innumerable and their nature is different and it depends upon the village and the beliefs and faiths of the people that live in those villages.

The process of goddess making has taken two different forms : (1) worshipping the fierce and terrible form, and (2) worshipping the creative and beautiful form. When the Sakti is associated with the terrific form schools of Kapalikas, Kalamukhis, Aghoris were developed. These schools did not hesitate to offer animals like dogs, buffaloes and even human beings at various sacrifices. The second kind of worship has taken again two shades : (1) first we have the *Sattvika* worship of Sakti in her pure form, and (2) a sensual form, in which the Sakti is the object of worship and it went further to a degenerated form of wrorship called Vamacara. Subsequently a great amount of literature was produced.

Kali and Nirrti as the most destructive forms of Sakti

The goddess Nirrti is frequently mentioned in the Rgveda. Here she appears to be the personification of death, destruction and sorrow and

whenever she is addressed the intent of *mantra* is to ward her off. In general Nirrti bears a striking resemblance to Kali. They are both dark, dreadful in appearance and are associated with suffering, misfortune and death. There are, nevertheless, some important differences between them. Kali plays an active role as a warrior goddess and receives blood sacrifices, while Nirrti does neither, Kali is usually described as naked, with lolling tongue and fang like teeth, while Nirrti is clothed. Kali is always said to be black, with disheveled hair, while Nirrti is described as 'golden locked'. According to Sukumari Bhattacharji,[8] the functions of Nirrti are replaced by Kali, Karala, Camundi and Chinnamasta.

Kali in Mahabharata

There are only a few references to Kali in Mahabharata. In *Sabhaparva* (II. 29) she is named as one of those beings who lives in Brahma's abode. In *Salya parva*, Bhadrakali and Kalika are the two names given to her when she went along with Kartikeya to kill Tarakasura. The moṣt important reference to Kali in Mahabharata is in *Sauptika parva*. Here Kali appears after the Army of Pandavas were killed by Aswathama Krpa and Krtavarma. All these descriptions of Kali in Mahabharata inform us that she is associated with a group of goddesses (the *Matrkas*) and companions of Kartikeya. She is associated with death and destruction. In Mahabharata there is no indication of any kind of rituals to be performed to her and what kind of people are associated with her for her devotion. But a detailed account of her birth, the prayers and rituals performed to her could be found in *Devi Mahatmya*.

Kali in *Devi Mahatmya*

In the *Devi Mahatmya* a full account of goddess Kali, as the most powerful Sakti, is given. The *Devi Mahatmya* is divided into three major episodes. In the first two episodes, the Devi, the great Goddess or Durga, as she is called frequently here, defeats the two demons Kaitabha and Madhu (both form from Vishnu during his cosmic sleep) and the great Mahisasura. In the third episode Goddess Durga confronts the demon brothers Sumbha and Nisumbha and their army. She assumes the terrific form of Kali and kills the Canda and Munda. After killing all these four demons in a fearful battle, Kali goes to Durga and presents her the two heads of Canda and Munda.

Another instance is the battle with Ṛaktabija. The demon is nearly invincible, for every time he is wounded and begins to bleed, other demons in his image and with his might and ability to reproduce are

instantly born from his blood. Durga repeatedly strikes with her sword the Raktabija, but fails to kill him as she has to encounter many Raktabijas born from the blood drops. So she calls upon Kali to defeat the monster and she sucks all the blood of Raktabija and he gets killed.

The goddess Kali who is worshipped in India today, particularly in Bengal, is obviously the same who appears in the *Devi Mahatmya*. In appearance there are some changes and in course of time she gained independence and stands as a mighty goddess. Three factors have contributed for her glory and to become the most popular goddess of millions of Indians. They are :

1. A growing Kali mythology that soon associated her with the God Siva; (Kalidasa and others)
2. Her popularity in Tantrism; and
3. The fervent devotion of a few Bengali poet-saints.

Puranas and Drama - Literature - the cult of Kali

Sakti = Durga = Kali

The above formula may not be acceptable to certain sectarian thinkers. But the historical development of the manifestations of Sakti wants us to believe that it is so. The subsequent development of the Puranic literature that followed immediately after the *Devi Mahatmya* indicates the superiority of Durga and the subservient nature of Kali. In the *Agni* and *Garuda Puranas* Kali was invoked by certain Mantras which are spine chilling. Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava* (7.39) mentions that Kali is goddess among other gods and she is the leader of the Saptamatrkas. Banabhatta's *"Kadambari"* (7th A.D.) describes the worship of Candi, a popular name of the goddess Durga, but also applied sometimes to Kali. In Bhavabhuti's *"Malatimadhava"*, the heorine, Malati is captured by a female devotee of Camunda, Kapalakundala, who intends to sacrifice her to the goddess. In this drama, there is an indication of things to come, i.e., the growing importance of Candi and Kali.

Regional importance of Kali

The Vernacular literature also testifies the growing importance of the goddess Kali. But in these literatures she is described as a "negative force" or a "peripheral goddess". In Tamilnadu, Kali was worshipped from very early times. The Tamil epic *"Silappadi karam"* (2nd Century

B.C.), contains episodes about Kali. The heorine Kannaki worships Kali. Similarly, Manimekali, also contains episodes describing the great Goddess Karitay. It also mentions the temple of Durga.

References

1. Cf. Tagore's drama *"Sacrifice"* and Bankim Chatterjee's *"Kapala Kundala"*.
2. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, ed. Joseph Campbell, New York, 1935, I. 135.
3. Cf. Ye bhutanam adhipataya Visikhasah Kapardinah, *Taittireya Samhita*, IV. 5.11. ff.
4. *Taittriya Samhita*, IV. 5.1 and *Vajasaniya Samihita*, Ch. 16.
5. Girisa, Girita, Kapardi, Sarva, Bhava, Samkara, Sambhu, Siva, Bishada, and so on.
6. Rudra is the power of Indra, Agni, Soma, Savitr, Sarasvati, Pushan, Brhaspati, Mitra, Varuna, Trasta, Dhata, Vishnu, Asvins, Maruths, Viswadevas, Prthvi, Antariksha, Diks, and Prajapati and so on.
7. Cf. *Svetasvetara Upanishad*, for the prayers addressed to Siva.
8. Cf. Sukumari Bhattacharji, "The Indian Theogony", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.25.

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15. T.V. Mahalingam, *The Cult of Sakti in Tamil Nadu*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1967.

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Manifestation of Siva in Orissan Art & Architecture

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Śaivism seems to have been one of the earliest forms of Brāhmanical religious sects which became popular in ancient Orissa from very early times. In fact, one gets archaeological evidence to the prevalence of this cult in Orissa from fourth-fifth century A.D.[1] Before this time Jainism and Buddhism dominated the religious scene of ancient Orissa, then known variously as Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala.[2] The Gupta period was responsible for the revival of Brahmanism in ancient India.[3] The same factor was also responsible for the probable revival of Brāhmanism in ancient Orissa for we do not get any archaeological evidence to the existence of pre-Gupta Brāhmanical art in Orissa.

Right from its first appearance Śaivism found a fertile soil to grow, develop and spread in this ancient land of Orissa. In addition, it got the royal patronage all through the centuries and blossomed into a fine form of sectarian religion which is manifest from the scores of temples and sculptures that were created in adoration of the god supreme of the sect, i.e. Śiva. Secondly, being located at the strategic place on the eastern sea coast in between north and south India, ancient Orissa was always receptive to emerging ideas and beliefs from both the sides, which were being assimilated and integrated into its own indigenous culture. This is the reason one finds certain individualistic and indigenous traits in Śaiva art and architecture of Orissa which make these distinct in the pan-Indian Saiva art.

Talking about royal patronage extended to Saivism by members of the different royal dynasties we come across the religious titles or epithets used by the kings as referred to in their respective royal charters. Invariably one finds the epithet *Parama-māheśvara* used by several kings in different periods. Particularly in the early historical period and early medieval period we get a number of copper plate inscriptions recording this epithet. The rulers of the dynasties like the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara (A.D. 498 to 1038),[4] the Śailodbhavas of Kangodamandala (c.A.D. 575 to 700),[5] the Bhauma-Karas of Utkala (A.D. 736 to 940),[6] the Somavamsis (c.A.D. 885 to 1110),[7] the Bhanjas

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of Khinjalimaṇḍala (circa 9th to 11th c.A.D.)[8] and Khijjingakoṭā (circa 9th-10th centuries),[9] etc. were followers of the cult of Śiva and they vied with each other in building Śiva temples and providing munificent grants to Śaiva establishments. Coming to the later Gangas of Orissa (c.A.D. 1110 to 1435)[10] we find even stone inscriptions in several Śiva temples recording donations to the temple establishments. During the period from about 4th-5th century A.D. we find the growth of exclusive Śaiva religious centres as well as establishment of Śiva temples in other sacred places of Orissa. Ekamra *Ksetra* or present Bhubaneswar became one such important Śaiva centre where scores of Śiva temples were erected in different periods. Other such Śaiva centres are Rānipur-Jhariāl in Bolangir district, Kapilaśa and Kuālo in Dhenkanal district, Paikapaḍā near Theruvali in Koraput district, Mahendragiri in Ganjam district and Champānatha and Dhavaleśvara in Cuttack district. Besides, innumerable Śiva temples are found in other parts of Orissa, in almost every village and other religious centres like Puri, Konark, Jajpur, etc. But Bhubaneswar became the main Śaiva centre where temples dedicated to Śiva were constructed in all periods. These temples present a very good scope to study not only of the development of Orissan temple architecture but also, for our purpose, study the Śaiva plastic art. In addition, some of the inscriptions of the above dynasties contain beautiful invocatory verses in praise of Śiva.[11] All these and the development of Śaiva mythology indicate the pre-eminent position enjoyed by Śaivism in Orissa during the period under discussion. In fact the extent of Saiva temple in Orissa at present outnumbers other religious structures.

In agreement with the above the manifestation of Śiva in Orissan art is also predominant. From the study of these sculptural art[12] and few epigraphic evidences[13] it becomes apparent that Pāśupata, Kāpālika and Mattamayura sects of Śaivism were popular in Orissa.

Coming to Śaiva sculptural art in Orissa we have different aspects of Śiva depicted in sculptures. Śiva appears predominantly in his aniconic form of the phallus symbol or the *Linga* form. In this form he becomes the presiding deity of all Śiva temples. In general we find different types of Śiva lingams in Orissa. The earliest of this type is generally known as *mukha-lingam*. One finds the portrayal of Śiva's human face on, either one side or four sides of the shaft of the Śiva lingam. One-faced or *ekamukhalingam*[14] is noticed in the Trilocaneśvara temple complex at Jajpur and inside the Lingaraja temple complex at Bhubaneswar. The *catur-mukha lingam* is noticed in the Bhavani Śankara temple complex and Kedara Gaurī temple at Bhubaneswar,

Trilocaneśvara temple complex at Jajpur and Sītabhinji in Keonjhar district. One also finds the ususal Śiva lingams in almost all the places. This common type is usually divided in three parts, viz., the *Brahma-bhāga*, the *Visnubhāga* and the *Śivabhāga* being square, octagonal and cylindrical respectively in cross section from bottom to top. The usual *brahma-sutra* mark is found in most of these lingams. One also finds a few specimen of *dhara-lingam* at Jajpur and Bhubaneswar. In this case the tip portion of the lingam is not circular in cross section. But the side is multi-faceted. No *jyotirlingaṁ* is found in Orissa. But at many places people indicate crude stone forms as *svayaṁbhu-lingaṃ*. At some places one finds lingams of various dimensions. The lingam inside the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar is a huge one. It rises to a height of over 9 feet with a circumference of 12 feet 5 inches. It is believed to be an Aśokan pillar originally which was later transformed into a Śiva lingam during the 4th-5th century A.D. Bigger Siva lingams are also found inside the Dhavaleśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. In size these can measure upto a maximum of four feet in height and with proportionate circumferance. Another type of Śiva lingam is also found which is generally known as *Śahasra lingam*. On the *Śivabhāga* of a *lingam* one finds the depiction of miniature lingams in rows; of either ten or twenty rows each, the total number of lingams being one thousand. Such lingams have been found in Bhubaneswar, Bankada, Jajpur and few other places.

When we discuss the Śaiva sculptures we take into account the images of Śiva in his various aspects alongwith his *parivāra* images. In this later category we include the usual *parśvadevatā* figures of a Śiva temple, viz., Ganesa, Kartikeya and Pārvati. In Orissa one finds rarely a Śaiva icon as the presiding deity of a temple. Rather images of Śiva in his various aspects are found depicted on the exterior of a temple. The cult figures of Śaivism are found almost in all parts of the Orissan temple but mainly on the *bada* and *gaṇḍi* portions. Śiva is also depicted in association with the *dikpālas* as Isāna, the lord of north-east quarter, and as Virabhadra in association with *saptamatrika* figures. Donaldson[16] has exhaustively dealt with the Śaiva art and iconography in his magnificient work *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*. Besides, the subject is so vast that a separate book or monograph can be prepared on the topic. However, in the following pages we have tried to give a brief sketch of the Śaiva imagery in Orissan art.

Śaivite sculptures in Orissa can be divided into two broad categories, viz., the *saumya* and *raudra* forms of Śiva. In the *saumya mūrti* category we have *Daksinamurti*, *Kalyanasundaramurti*, Śiva with his

parivara, *nrtya* Śiva *Bhikśātana* Śiva, *Ravananugraha murti*, *yugalamurti* of Umā-Maheśvara and the composite figures of Hari-Hara and Ardhanariśvara. The sculptures depicting the Andhakasura-Vadha, Gajantaka, Ajaikapada Bhairava, Bhairava images, Virabhadra, Gangādhara, etc. can be included in the *raudra* aspect of Śiva.

Along with these we get sculptures depicting the *līla* of Śiva as per *Purana* stories such as Kirata-Arjuna, Lingodbhava, Lingamahatmya and Śiva as the lord of Īśāna or north-east direction. The Asnapāta image of *nrtya* Śiva, dated the sixth century A.D. can be taken as one of the earliest Śaiva sculptures in Orissa. In the recent excavations conducted at Punjiama, about 35 Kms from Banapur several images of Śiva, showing him in *nṛtya* pose and as Bhairava have been recovered. These along with the sculptures of Śiva in his various aspects and as found in the early temples of Bhubaneswar can be placed in the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. From this date onwards we get Śiva in all his manifestations on the Śaiva temple walls of Bhubaneswar and other places. Particular Śaiva sculptures of interest are the Kalyānasundara images in the Paraśurāmeśvara and Lingarāja temples; Rāvānanugraha figure of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple; Śiva depicted as per puranic stories in the Śvarnajāleśvara temple; Śiva as Īśāneśvara in various temples; Ardhanārīśvara in the Vaitala temple; Śiva in *yogāsana* as found at Pālkapadā; as Bhairava and Gangadhara located at Lendura Bhagabanpur, as Bhairava at Hirāpur, Rānipur-Jhariāl and Punjiama; Uma-Maheśvara images in the Lingaraja compound, in the village Rameśvara, in the collection of the Orissa State Museum and Harihara images in the Lingaraja temple. Along with the different images of Śiva we get sculptures of Ganeśa, Kārtikeya and Pārvatī separately in the Śaiva temples. The three *pārśvadevatās* of the Lingaraja temple are superb examples of the *parivara* figures of Śiva. In early Ganeśa sculptures the mouse is generally found absent while the earlier Kārtikeya figures do not include the figures of a peacock as an attribute. Pārvati is generally depicted in *sthanaka* pose standing on a lotus carrying a *sarpa-pāśa*, accompanied by her mount, the lion.

The above is but a brief outline sketch of the different manifestations of Śiva in Orissan art. As explained above the subject is vast and commands a full separate study. However, the survey of extant examples from sculptures of Orissa indicate the local variations of all the *saumya* and *raudra* aspects of Śiva, which is a result of the local school of art.

Notes

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2. B.K. Rath, *Cultural History of Orissa*, pp. 3-14.
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4. K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, pp. 150-51.
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7. B.K. Rath, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
8. Dr. (Smt) S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. XXVI.
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11. S.N. Rajaguru, *Invocatory verses from Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45, 47, 58 & 79.
12. T.E. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, Vol. III, p. 1093.
13. K.N. Mohapatra, "Gaganasivacarya and the Date of Monuments at Ranipur Jharial", *OHRJ*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 65-75.
14. T.E. Donaldson, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1087.
15. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp. 171, 184-185.
16. T.E. Donaldson, *Op. cit.*, pp. 1082-1116 and 1051-1067.

Saiva Literature of Orissa

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Śaivism is one of the oldest forms of religions of India. Its origin can be traced back to the period of Vedic civilisation. A large number of monuments, sculptures, paintings and symbols of Śaivism preserved till now prove its popularity through the ages.

Besides the ancient archaeological remains, a vast literature comprising epics and Purāṇas on the rites and rituals, fairs and festivals and various manifestations of Śiva had been composed and propagated throughout India. Basing on the Epics and Purāṇas the *'Sthala Purāṇas'* were compiled and various forms of Kāvya literature were developed in different parts of the country.

Like other regions, Orissa has also contributed much to the Śaiva literature of India. A little effort is made here to present briefly, the Śaiva literature of Orissa, compiled and composed in Sanskrit. In the first section of the paper, a discussion has been made on the Śaiva faith of different ruling dynasties of Orissa basing on the invocatory verses from inscriptions. In the second section the Purāṇic works which come under the group of *'Sthala Purāṇas'* have been discussed. The Dharmaśāstra and Kavya literature have been discussed in the concluding two sections of the paper respectively.

SECTION - I

Inscription

In Orissa Śaivism had its existence long before the revival of Hinduism in India under the great Gupta emperors in the 5th c.A.D. It is known from Asanapāṭa (Keonjhar) inscription[1] that the king Śatru Bhanja of Bhanja dynasty built a shrine for Naṭarāja Śiva. The date of this inscription is fixed in the 4th century A.D. The eight-handed Śiva is presented in *tāṇḍava* dance position with his both feet resting on the earth. This type of Naṭarāja is seen in all the later temples of Orissa. This form of Naṭarāja differs from that of the naṭarāja sculptures of the other parts of India, where the right leg of Śiva does not rest on the earth.

Then we see the invocation to Śiva in the Parikuda inscription of

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Ayaśobhita Madhyamarāja (c. 670 A.D.) of Śailodbhava dynasty. It describes the clotted hair of Siva in the following manner :

इन्दोर्द्धौतमृणालतन्तुभिरिव श्लिष्टाकरैः कोमलैः
बद्धाहेररुणै स्फुरत्फणिमणैर्दग्धप्रभासाऽशुभिः ।
पार्वत्याः सकचग्रहप्रतिकर व्यावृत्तबन्धश्लथा--
गङ्गाम्भःण्लुतिभिन्नभस्मकणिकाः शम्भोर्जटाः पान्तु वः ।। (2)

From the Dharmalingeśvar copper plate grant (682 A.D.) of Devendravarman of the ancient Ganga dynasty it is known that Bhagavān Patanga Śivacarya, the royal preceptor was a famous professor and erudite scholar in the Vedas, Vedanga, Itihas, Purāṇa and Nyāya philosophy. He was an Ācārya of Mattamayur sect of Śaivism.

In the Narasinghapalli copper plate grant of Hastivarman (577 A.D.) and in Śrikākulam inscription (5) of Indravarman III (6th century) prayers have been made to lord Gokarneśvara Śiva dwelling at the mountain of Mahendrācala, one of the seven Kuḷācālas of India.

After the propagation of Śaivatantra Śiva was worshipped as Bhairava who has been invocated in several inscriptions of the Bhanjas. In this connection the prayer made to the Bhairava in the copper plate grant of Rana Bhanja (10th c.A.D.) is worth mentioning:

संहारकालहुतभुग्विकरालघोर--
सम्भ्रान्तकिंकरकृतान्तनितान्तभिन्नम् ।
भिन्नान्धकासुरमहागहनातपत्रं
तद्भैरवं हरवपुर्भवतः प्रपातु।। (6)

Śaivism was also patronised, propagated and made a State religion during the Bhaumakara rule (736-950 A.D.) in Orissa. A number of Śiva temples and Śakti temples were built and all the later kings of this dynasty and the subordinate kings under them became Śaivas. In the Angul copper plate grant of Śāntikara Deva (829 A.D.) the lord Maheśa has been described in the following lines :

नाड़ीचक्रोदरस्थक्षितितलदहनस्पर्शनाकाशधामा
सर्वात्मा सर्वशक्तिः शशितरणिगतिर्विश्वमूर्त्तिः पुराणः।
योऽसौ देवातिदेवो विचरति भगवान् देहिनां देहमध्ये
आद्यो हंसाभिधानो स जयति जगतां प्राणभूतो महेशः ।। (7)

In the copper plate grants of Kulastambha and Raṇastambha of the Śulki dynasty (839 A.D.) ruling in the Central Orissa, Śiva is prayed to in the name of Giriśa, Devādhideva, etc. in the following manner :

जयति सुरासुरविद्वद्विद्याधरमुकुटघृष्टचरणाम्बुजः।
शशिमणिमयूखभासितपङ्गजटाभारभास्वरो गिरीशः।।
जयत्यसुरसिद्धविद्याधरमुकुटधृटचरणाम्बुजः।
शशिमणिमयूखभासितः पिङ्गजटाभारभास्वरो गिरीशः।। (8)

The Bhanja kings ruling in different parts of Orissa were well known as the devotees of Śiva. In the Petāsara copper plate grant of Netta Bhanja (933 A.D.) the eyes of Hara and his clotted hair have been described as follows :

जयतु कुकुमबाणप्राणविक्षोभदक्षं
स्वकिरणपरिवेशोर्जित्य जीर्णेन्दुलेखम् ।
त्रिभुवनभुवनान्तर्द्योतिभास्वत्प्रदीपं
कनकनिकषगौरं चारूनेत्रं हरस्य ।।

x x x

शेषाहेरिह यो फणाप्रविलसन्त्युद्भास्वरेन्दुत्विष
प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव शंसन्ति येत्युन्नताः ।
नृत्ताटोपविघट्टिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भवा--
स्ते सर्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरित्तोयोर्मयः पान्तु वः ।। (9)

In his Bāṇatumba plate invocation to Śiva a prayer has been made in the following manner :

जटाधरखण्डशशाङ्कशेखरः कपालमालासितभस्मधूसरः ।
स्फुरन्महापन्नगबद्धकङ्कणः सदा शिवं वो विदधातु शङ्करः ।।

In Deogaon Copper plate grant of Śatru Bhanja, Śiva has been described in the following words :

सकलभुवनैकनाथो भवभयभिदुरो भवो भवानीशः।
विविधसमाधिविधिज्ञः सर्वज्ञः स शिवायास्तु वः ।। (10)

Gayada Tunga (10th c.A.D.) the king of Tunga dynasty, had prayed to lord Śiva in the following words :

विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय त्रिवेदि दिव्यचक्षुषे ।
श्रेयः प्राप्तिनिमित्ताय नमः सोमार्द्धधारिणे ।। (11)

*This verse is seen as the beginning verse of "Śloka Vartikā" of Kumarila Bhatta.

Śaivism widely influenced the religious people during the reign of Soma dynasty in Orissa. The inscriptions and Copper plate grants of Śivagupta Balārjuna of Soma dynasty of South Kośala issued during the 8th century, describe the various aspects of lord Śiva, the

examples of which deserve mention here for information of the scholars:

उद्वेलनातिभरनिर्भरहस्तषण्ढ--
चण्डाभिघातरहसोत्पतदद्रिजालैः ।
यः कन्दुकैरिव कृतातुलितालकेलि--
र्नृत्ते वभौ स भवभिद्भवताद् भवो वः ॥

निर्दग्धोऽप्यत्र नेत्र ज्वलन कवलनैस्तावकीनैर्मनोभू--
र्भूयो जन्मानुयाने गमित इति रूषा रूक्षितेन त्वयेयम् ।
कं भो शम्भो रणाम्भोनिधिमधिशयिता त्यज्यते लज्जिते नो
शृङ्गीति प्रोक्तिकारी रिपुरणमियया सद्व्रतात्पार्वती वः ॥
(सेनकपाट - अभिलेखः)

पायादालिङ्गिता यूष्मान् कण्ठमेचकरोचिषा ।
शम्भोर्भस्माङ्गरागस्य छाया कृष्णा तनुछविः ॥ (12)
(शिवगुप्तस्य श्रीपुरप्रस्तराभिलेखः)

धारितं येन गंगायाः शृंगोच्चपतनाद्भुवि ।
जटाविटपसंस्थेन स हरः पातु वेा जनान् ॥
(महाशिवगुप्तवालार्जुनस्य गन्धेश्वरमन्दिराभिलेखः)

The king Indrarath (c.10th c.A.D.) of Soma dynasty of Yajatinagar in the Bāṇapur copper plate grant had prayed to Śiva in the following lines :

इन्दोर्जटा सुविशदोऽग्निशिखापिशङ्गी
लालाटचक्षुषि गलद्विषमञ्जनाभम् ।
सत्त्वरजस्तम इति त्रिगुणस्य तस्य
स्थानक्रमं गतवतेऽस्तु नमः शिवाय ॥ (13)

In the Baud copper plate of Netta Bhanja, Śiva has been depicted in the following manner:

नेत्रोद्र्ध्वं भूतिसान्द्ररागकपिलप्रान्त प्रभोद्भासिताः
खण्डेन्दोर्द्युतिभिर्विशुद्धधवलाः नीलस्वभावाः क्वचित् ॥
रक्ता पन्नगभोगरत्नमणिभिः पद्मेन्द्ररागारूणैः
नानावर्णधरेन्द्रचापरुचिराः स्थाणोर्जटाः पान्तु वः ॥ (14)

The influence of Śaivism did not also recede during the reign of the mighty Gangas (1078-1435 A.D.) who were originally Śaivas, but after the conquest of Orissa became supporters of Vaiśṇavism. They had patronised both the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas and had constructed a number of historic monuments which still stand as the mute witness

of their achievements. Vaidyanātha, a vassal king under the Gangas constructed the temple of Śobhaneśvar at Niali in the district of Cuttack. In the Śobhaneśvar Inscription (1182 A.D.) of Vaidyanātha lord Śiva has been prayed to in the following words :

शम्भोस्ताण्डवडम्बरोत्सवमृतः प्रेङ्क्षद्भुजामण्डली
वातोत्क्षिप्तसमस्तसागरपयः पुरः स पायाज्जगत् ।
यस्मिन् व्योमतलं प्रसर्पति पुनः कल्पान्तकालभ्रम--
न्त्रस्तन्मुग्धवधूससंभ्रमपरिरम्भान्ननन्दु सुराः ।। (15)

In the Megheśvara temple inscription of Aniyank Bhīmadeva (1190-1198 A.D.) Śiva has been prayed to in the following lines :

विद्युत्पिंगलभाललोचन शिखिज्वालागलत्सानृत--
स्त्रोतः स्पर्शनजीवितः शिवशिरः श्रेणी शवे नृत्यति ।
एको राहुरनेकताङ्गत इति त्रासादिव प्रेक्ष्यत--
श्चन्द्रः सान्द्रजटाटवीसुरसरिद्दुर्गाश्रितः पातु वः ।। (16)

The poet Udayana Ācārya was the author of these two inscriptions. He also wrote the first commentary named *Bhāvabibhavini* on the immortal poem *Gitagovinda* by Kaviraja Jayadeva who was born in Kenduli Śasan, a village on the bank of the Prāchī river in the district of Puri.

King Bhānudeva (1264-1278 A.D.) of Ganga dynasty in his Bhubaneswar temple inscription had prayed to lord Śiva in the following lines :

संभ्रान्तजम्भरिपुसम्पदुपास्यमान--
लीलालसेन्दुनयनाञ्चलशासनानि ।
भिक्षाविलासचरितानि जयन्ति शम्भो--
र्नेत्रामृतानि सुरराजपुरङ्गनानाम् ।। (17)

From among other notable inscriptions the names of Ganjam copper plate grant of Śaśānka (before 620 A.D.), Purusottamapur, Kanās and Lodhiā copper plates, Dasapallā copper plate of Rana Bhanja, Orissa Museum plate and Baud plate of Netta Bhanja as well as the temple inscriptions like Sobhaneśvar and Chāṭeśvar (in Cuttack district) Brahmeśvara and Megheśvara (in Puri district) are worth mentioning. Even some of the Vaisnava kings of Bhanja dynasty namely Śatru Bhanja (in Sonepur grant), Rana Bhanja (in Dasapalla grant), Netta Bhanja (in Orissa Museum plate and Baud plate) have also prayed to lord Śiva at the beginning of the charters. Besides, there are many other inscriptions which provide very useful information about the spread of Śaivism in Orissa.

In short, this is a picture of Śaivism depicted in the inscriptions, which proves its popularity among the kings and people of Orissa for more than a thousand years beginning from the 4th century to the 15th century A.D.

SECTION - II

Puranic Literature

It is known from the study of the Sanskrit inscriptions and the living temples of Orissa that the scholars and artists were highly proficient in puranic literature and culture. The religious centres like Virajā, Ekāmra, Konārk, Purusottama, Mahendra and many other rivers and mountains of Orissa are found mentioned in the puranic works compiled at the all India level. But the scholars in Orissa have compiled separate *pruanas* on each of those famous *kṣetras* which give in detail topographical picture of the area alongwith the vivid descriptions of various notable items of interest. As has been known from the internal evidences all the *puranas* of Orissa were compiled during the 11th century and 16th century A.D. The important works under the subject are noted chronologically as follows :

(1) *Śiva purāṇa* may be the earliest work compiled so far in Orissa. This does not tally in full with the *Śiva purāna* printed in the South or North India. The work has been divided into *pūrvakhanḍa* and *uttarakhanḍa* containing 52 and 45 chapters respectively. The work deals with various topics relating to Ekāmra *kṣetra* which proves its Orissan origin. As it does not refer to the Anantavasudeva temple as has been done in other puranic works of Orissa, it must have been compiled before 1278 A.D. This is one of the most important works on the Śaiva cult of Orissa.

The first part of the work contains शिवस्तुति, पुराणमहात्म्य, सृष्टिविवरण, विभिन्नद्वीप, पताललोक-उद्र्ध्वलोक वर्णन, ब्रह्मगीतोपाख्यान, शिवपुरवर्णन, शिवमहात्म्य, विभीषणसंवाद, नामसंकीर्त्तन, स्थान महात्म्य, गुहोपाख्यान, महेश्वरदर्शन, लिङ्गोद्भव, पुष्पदान, दान-व्रतविधि, नियमोपदेश, चन्द्रजन्म, भूतिकीर्त्तन, शिवलिंगार्चन, शिवाष्टषष्टिनाम, शैवतीर्थ, योगोपाख्यान, योगोपनिषद्, शिवदुर्गासंवाद, नाभीसंचार, अविमुक्तमहात्म्य, ओंकारेश्वरदर्शन, पञ्चायतन कीर्त्तन, नन्द्युपाख्यान, कार्त्तिकेयचरित, त्रिपुरोपाख्यान, शिवकैलासगमन, ब्राह्मणमाहात्म्य, योगविधि etc.

And in the second part the subjects like लिंगमाहात्म्य, ज्योतिर्लिंग, त्रिपुरवध, दक्षपुत्रीविवाह, दाक्षायणीयज्ञाग्निप्रवेश, दक्षयज्ञध्वंस, ब्रह्ममृगवध, उमोत्पत्ति, कन्दर्पदहन, शङ्करवरदान, उमावरदान, गौरीविवाह, तारकासुरवध, गणेशोत्पत्ति, तीर्थयात्रा, नन्दिकेश्वरोत्पत्ति, गङ्गोत्पत्ति, कीर्त्तिवासासुरवध, विन्दुह्रदोत्पत्ति, रासक्रीडा,

त्रिभुवनेश्वराष्टोत्तरशतनाम, एकादशीमाहात्म्य, वराहप्रसादन, विषपान, मृत्युंजयनाम, निषादमुक्ति, शिवचतुर्दशी, मर्य्यादावरदान, रावणतपस्या, वैद्यवाथोत्पत्ति, रावणमुक्ति, वामदेवशर्वमुक्ति, कल्पभेदनिर्णय, पुराणप्रशंसा were discussed. (18)

(2) *Kapilasaṁhitā*, a very popular puranic work compiled after 1278 A.D. describes the sanctity and importance of the rivers, mountains and places of piligrimage in Orissa in its 21 chapters. Many interesting stories on Ekāmra and Konarka *kṣetras* and Utkaladeśa have been narrated in this work.

The Kapilās *kṣetra* in Dhenkaṇal district and glory of Śikhareśvar, the presiding deity of Kapilās hill have been discussed in this work along with some topics of *Śivapurāṇa* as mentioned above. The topics namely ऋषिप्रश्न, महानदीमाहात्म्य, यमवरदान, नृपमोक्षप्राप्ति, ऋष्युपदेश, मैत्रेयवनमाहात्म्य, शृगालविमुक्ति, विरजामाहात्म्य, सौदासमुक्ति, एकाम्रवर्णन, महेशागमन, विन्दूद्भव, शक्रजयवर्द्धन, लिंगवर्णन, इन्द्रेश्वराख्यान, हिमवदागमन, गन्धवत्पनुकीर्त्तन, चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधान, ऋषिमुक्ति, उत्कलदेशमाहात्म्य, ज्ञानयोग etc. have been discussed in this work.[19]

(3) *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, divided into five parts and 70 chapters, describes exhaustively the glory and sanctity and all fairs and festivals of *Ekāmra kṣetra*. On the basis of facts and evidences the work is assigned to the last part of the 13th century. But as it contains the glory of Kapileśwar Śiva whose temple was constructed by Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1435-1467 A.D.) in the village Kapileśwar near Bhubaneswar, the scholars say that the work under discussion may have been compiled between 1278-1435 A.D.

The work in five parts contains 11, 21, 14, 16 and 18 chapters respectively. It contains क्षेत्रपरिचय, यमेश्वर, सिद्धेश्वर, विन्दुह्रदमाहात्म्य, हिरण्याक्षवध, भृगुवाक्य, देवविवरण, वासोपाख्यान, मेघेश्वर, अलावुतीर्थ, कपिलेश्वरमाहात्म्य, कोटिलिंगार्चनविधि, अष्टायतन, अष्टमूर्त्तिपूजाविधि; आम्रातकेश्वर, जटेश्वर, पापनाशनमाहात्म्य, कमठोङ्गवध, भीमेश्वर-सिद्धलिंगमाहात्म्य, लिंगराजस्य चतुर्दशयात्रा etc.

From the colophon it is known that the work contains six thousand (6000) verses. It is an important work on the Śaiva *kṣetra*, Bhubaneswar.[20]

(4) *Svarṇādri Mahodaya*, a work on *Ekāmra kṣetra*, Bhubaneswar, was compiled in the second half of the 15th century A.D. The work has been referred to in the "Trirtha Cintāmaṇi" of Vācaspati Mishra (1425-1490 A.D.) of Mithila. It was published from Calcutta in 1912. It contains 31 chapters and about 1757 verses. The work deals with

almost all the temples at Bhubaneswar, dividing the *Ekāmra kṣetra* into 8 divisions.[21]

(5) *Ekāmra Candrikā* was probably compiled after 1568 A.D. in imitation of *Ekāmra purāṇa* and *Svarnādri Mahodaya.* The verses of *Kapila Saṁhitā* and *Ekāmra purāṇa* are quoted in this work. It is divided into 4 *prakāśas* and 15 chapters and describes the glory of *Ekāmra kṣetra* and its Gods and Goddesses.[22]

(6) *Prācīmāhātmya* is another important work compiled in praise of the river *Prācī* during the first half of the 14th c.A.D. The river Prācī now forms the boundary line of the districts of Puri and Cuttack. The Prācī valley is rich with historical monuments and old archaeological remains.

The work in 24 chapters record the historical legends of each monument of *dvādasa śambhu* and Mādhava, Arkaksetra, trīveni *tīrtha* along with many other deities. It contains प्राचीप्रादुर्भाव, सतीप्रार्थना, कपिलेश्वरमुक्तितीर्थ, गोकर्णेश्वरचरित, विल्वेश्वरचरित, अर्कतीर्थ, शोभनेश्वर, पुण्डेश्वर, अग्नितीर्थ, अमरेश्वर, पितृतीर्थाङ्गेश्वर, गोतीर्थचरित,

ग्रामेश्वर, पुरुरवतीर्थ, सुदर्शतीर्थ, माधवचरित, सोमेश्वरचरित, सिद्धेश्वर, अस्परातीर्थ, नाटेश्वर, गोमुखकेशवचरित etc.

(7) *Arkakṣetramāhātmya* is another work which describes the eight *śambhus* along with Maitreyavana Sun temple, Candrabhāgātīrtha, Arkavata and the fairs and festivals observed in Arkakṣetra, now known as Konārk on the seashore in Puri district. The other work composed on these subjects is called Saura *samuccaya.* Out of the above two the first work was compiled before 1435 A.D. and the second work was compiled in imitation of the first work later.[24]

(8) *Virajāmāhātmya :* This is the most important work based on the *Virajā kṣetra,* one of the oldest śākta centres of Orissa as well as of India. The Virajā *kṣetra* was known as Yājanagar and Yajātinagar was the capital city of Orissa during the reign of Yajati, rich with ancient archaeological remains. It is now known as Jajapur.

The work in 29 chapters records the history of the Virajā *kṣetra* and describes about Viraja, Ākhaṇḍaleśvara, Dharmavaṭa, Prabhāsamahimā, Siddhatīrthas, eight Śambhus or eight forms of Śiva, i.e., the embodiments of Sun, Moon, five Elements and Yjāmana. They are Trilocana (Sun), Tilakeśvara (sky), Gartteśvara (air), Īsāneśvara (water), Ākhaṇḍaleśvara (earth), Śiddheśvara (fire). There are also descriptions of Bhairava, Vilveśvara, Brahmeśvara, Bhārgaveśa,

Nāradeśvara, Vimukteśvara, Trivenimāhātmya and many other Śaiva and Śakta cult images. This was compiled during the 16th c.A.D.[25]

(9) Kesara *ksetra* māhātmya : This is a work of 17th c.A.D. composed in praise of lord Chadeśvara worshipped at Tangi in the district of Puri.[26]

SECTION - III

Dharmaśāstra

The *Vedānga Kalpaśāstra* was divided into Grihya, Śrauta and Dharma which deal with family rites and rituals, the Vedic sacrifices and the judiciary and administration respectively. The Dharmaśāstra or Smṛti is a collection of all these three aspects in one work. The development of the Dharmaśāstra has been divided into three phases and accordingly the *sutras* were composed during the period between 600 B.C. and 100 A.D., the Dharmasastras between 100 A.D. and 800 A.D. and the commentaries and *nibandha* works between 700 and 1800 A.D. The *Dharmaśāstric* work of Orissa came under the last phase. There were fiftyfive *smriti* writers in Orissa who wrote about 100 works on various subjects, the most notable ones are noted below.

Among the notable Dharmashastra writers of India the name of Laxmidhar Bhatta (1100-1130 A.D.) stands apart. He in his illustrious work *Krityakalpataru-Tirthakāṇḍa* has recorded Virajā, Puruṣottama, Mahendragiri and the existence of Ardhānarīśwa there. A vivid description of the eight-fold boundary of Ekāmra *Kṣetra* including the tank of Vindusara, Ayanayātrā, Aśokāstamī, Pabitrāropaṇa with the procedure of visiting Bhāskareśvara, Mukteśvara, Siddheśvara, Svarnajāleśvara, Parasurāmeśvara and Krittīvāsa has been widely mentioned in 'Tīrtha-Cintāmaṇi' (pp. 176-180) of Maithili Dharmashastrin Vācaspati Mishra (1425-1490 A.D.). 'Vīramitrodaya', the work of Mitra Mishra (1610-1640 A.D.) also praises the significance of Ekāmra. Mrtyunjaya of Virajā *Kṣetra*, Siddheśvara of Alābutīrtha and Somatīrtha in its Tīrthaprakaś section.

The *Smritikāras* of Orissa received their legacy from Śatānanda Ācarya (1050 A.D.) regarding the procedure of worship and adoration of lord Śiva in their works.

In his work *'Nityācāra Paddhati'*. Vidyākāra Vajapayee (1325 A.D.) has discussed the procedure of observing Siva *Caturdaśi*, Śiva Dwadasi, worship of Śiva, signs of Śiva linga and offering of oblation to Śiva. The

procedure of Śiva worship with descriptions of Śiva temples in Orissa and the result of visiting different Śiva temples in Bhubaneswar are well described in *'Nityācāra Pradīpa"* of Narasiṁha Mishra Vājapayee (1525 A.D.) *'Smṛtisāra Saṁgraha'* of Viswanath Mishra (1650 A.D.), *'Kāladīpa'* of Divyasiṁha Mahapatra (1650 A.D.) and *'Kālasāra'* of Gadadhar Rājguru are unanimous in noting the procedure of Śiva worship and twelve festivals of lord Lingarāja. Some other works have been specially attributed to the worship of Śiva.

The *'Śaiva Paddhati'* of Panditacārya Maguni Mishra (1675 A.D.) is another work that notes the worship of Varuṇa and Mātṛgaṇa, the procedure of Madhuparka, the procedure of constructing altar for sacrificial fire and the procedure of establishing the altar, flag, etc. This work is popularly known as *'Liṅgasthita* Śiva Prāsāda Pratīsthā'.

Laxmidhar Mishra (1675 A.D.) is credited with two works on the religion and philosophy of Śiva. He was the grandson of Pradyamna Mishra of Kautsa clan living in Ekāmra and the son of Ramakrushna Mishra. His work *'Śaiva Cintāmaṇi'* has been composed in eight *paṭalas*. In a respective order these *paṭalas* describe the identification of *Rudrākṣa* and *Śaivagaṇa*, *Mātrukavidhi* like *Śiva-sandhyā*, Pancākṣarodhārana like *Śrīkanṭha*, *Mudrās* like *Antaryāga;* procedure of *Dhyana*, *Āsana* and *upacāra;* the significance of Ekāmra Kānana pitha, glory of Kāśī, procedures of purifying fire and procedures of observing *Śiva-rātri*. The second work of Laxmidhara is *'Śaiva Kalpadruma'* which is divided into eight *Kāṇḍas*. These kāṇḍas describe the significance of *Guru*, *Dīkṣā*, *Puraścarana*, *Mālājapa* and *Sthanḍila lakṣana*, *Śaivāgni vidhi*, *Tarpaṇa*, *Mudrā*, *Tantra* and *Ṣaṭkarma*, *Āsrama* and *Dharmasuddhi*, *Linga lakshaṇa*, *Pujā* and *Nyāsa*, procedure of *Pujā* in Vedic and Tantric forms, *Brata Vidhi*, *Liṅgadarśana* and results of *nāmānukirttana*, construction of Śiva temple and the establishment of *lingam*. Besides these, Raghunath Das (1750 A.D.) has described the fourteen festivals of lord Lingaraja of Ekāmra Kṣetra in his work *'Kāla Nirṇaya'*.[27]

SECTION - IV

Kavya Literature

The Kavya tradition of Orissa flourished during the 4th-5th century A.D. if not earlier. It is known from the inscriptions that the pandits and poets like Patanga Sivācārya, Viṣṇu Śarma, Madhava Varmā, Jambhana and others had adorned the royal courts of Śailodbhava, Bhaumakara, Somavaṁśī and ganga dynasties. The royal poet Nārāyan

Sātkari was a court poet of Gopālvira (11th c.A.D.) a king of Soma dynasty. The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered so far record the literary description of the dynasic history, valour and achievements of the kings of Orissa.

There are about 15 mahākāvyas, 10 *Gītakāvyas*, 20 *khandakāvyas*, 5 love lyrics and more than 10 *Campukāvyas* besides other technical works available, some of which are published. But works on Śiva or Śaiva faith and movement have not yet satisfactorily come to the notice of scholars. The works noted above have many references to Śaivism which are of course not discussed here. Instead, the works written on Śiva are discussed as follows.

Śivalīlāmṛta by Pandit Agnicit Nityānanda is a work written in imitation of *Gitagovinda*. It was attributed to Gadādhara Mahāpātra (1657-1689 A.D.), the Rājā of Navadurga or the present Nayāgarh in the district of Puri. Pandit Nityananda was born in a family belonging to *kaundinya gotra*.

The work has been arranged into 10 cantos and contains forty songs and 292 verses composed in 20 different rāgas and various metres respectively. The songs were written in *Astapadi* manner and the rāgas and *tālas* of each song have been used with notations.

This kāvya strikes a different note in its theme. It deals with the sportive life of Śiva and Pārvati in the Ekāmra Kānana and describes its surrounding places and rivers with their connected episodes. The poet has brought into his creations many local events, customs, legends prevalent during that time and the places of interest in and around this soil.[28]

The other notable works which deserve mention are *'Śivaśataka'* by Pandit Kāśināth Rath, *Śivaśataka* and *Śivapadaśataka* by Kavirāja Bhagaban Brahma (19th century) *Umodbāhā Kāvya* by Pandit Kālicarana Rath, son of Kavirāja Brahmā, *Lingarājāyana* and *Sakaleśvara Śataka* by Pandit Ganeśvar Rath Vācaspati and *Bhubaneśvar Vaibhava* by Nārāyana Candra Bhattāchārya. The *Lingarājāyana* has been divided into two parts namely *jñanakānda* and *vijnānakānda* containing 100 verses each. Likewise *Bhubaneśvara Vaibhava* has been divided into two parts and contains 127 and 117 verses respectively.[29]

From the above discussion a general notion can be had about the Saiva literature of Orissa written in Sanskrit.

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Saivism in South Kosala : An Analysis with Recent Finds

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The nature of initiation to worship in South Kośala like many other places was ritualisation of cults developed around the Sun, the Earth, Water, Trees, etc. This was because man in early times laid more emphasis on the practical side of life.[1] But gradually with the spread of Aryan culture, man became conscious of the spiritual, metaphysical, philosophical and ethical aspects of these objects of nature. This process generated the resultant effect in the form of assimilation of races and cultures involving changes in the religious concept of the Vedic period. In course of time a new composite religious and philosophical background was created on which arose the historic Hinduism[2] having wide scope for adjustments of tribal and folk cults and rituals.

Śaivism which appears to be more popular than Vaiṣṇavism among the common folk of South Kośala found easy acceptance in the hilly tracts as it had wider scope to tolerate and assimilate the tribal ways of life and worship. Further, its continuation was carried on by the royal ruling dynasties like the Nalas, Śarabhapūrīyas, Panduvaṁśis, Kāḷacuris and the Cauhāns. All these dynasties seem to have extended patronage to the local religious faiths, inspite of their dynastic religious worship. Epigraphical records do not throw any light on the state of Śaivism in South Kośala in the Pre-Gupta period. The Gunji rock inscriptions[3] and the Arang plates[4] are devoid of information as to the prevalence of Śaivism in this region. It is from the charters of Nala kings, Arthapati and Bhāvadatta Varman that we come to know about the high esteem in which Śaivite Gods Maheśwar and Mahāsena were extolled by the royal panegyrist[5]. The Nala kings not only assumed the titles like Bhāttaraka but also issued a large number of gold coins having the figures of couchant bull and crescent moon. It is further interesting to note that Bhāvadatta, a śaivite ruler of the Nala family, who belonged to the early art of the sixth century A.D. was succeeded by his son Skanda Varman, known to us from the Podagarh

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inscription.[6] Obviously Bhavadatta was not merely a worshipper of Maheswara Siva but also of Mahasena Skanda, after whom he probably named his son. The sculptural evidence of the Kosalesvara temple at Baidyanath revealing the iconographic features of Mahasena Skanda of the sixth century A.D. leaves no doubt that Baidyanath was a famous *tirtha*, where under the patronage of the Nala king Bhavadatta Varman the image of Mahasena Skanda was enshrined.[7] Apart from it, this monument provides us a very indicative depiction of tribal life on the outer wall suggesting the popularity of Saivism among the common folk and the positive evidences of acceptance of tribal ways by Śaivism. This observation is further corroborated by the findings of Dr. N.K. Sahu in course of the excavation conducted at Trishul Mound in the Maraguda valley,[8] in Kalahandi district. This excavation has brought to limelight a large Saiva Monastery with the shrines of *Yoni* and Mahesvari Bhavada of about 5th century A.D., one of the earliest Hindu Viharas of India. Apart from a Trishula of about 5' high[9], the ruins of a huge organised religious establishment in five tiers hanging from a hill has come to light. First is the Yoni Temple where we find the existence of a square sized stone Yoni of Skati Stone. To the South of the Yoni temple some stone steps lead towards the residential chambers for persons associated with the temple. In the third tier we find the temple of Goddess Durga. Though damaged, the image of Durga having an inscription in the bottom tells about the probable period of the Saiva Monastery. Near this at a little high up we find the ruins of buildings probably meant for the priests, disciples, guests, drummers, etc. The fifth ridge (around 500' from the river bed) which is an extensive plain land about half a kilometer in length was a part of the complex of the Monastery and it was probably being maintained as the place of recreation and meditation.

In course of excavation so many interesting articles were discovered. These are some ancient coins, one sword, precious stones, one gold stylus, a sotne seal on which the name 'Dhimatisvara' is engraved in the Brahmi of 5th century A.D., an iron *Yupa stambha* and eight images of Female deities. Dr. Sahu has rightly assigned this religious complex to the Nala kings who favoured Saivism with Sakta tantric rituals to popularise them among the hilly people to enlist their support in their protracted fight against the Vakatakas. From the availability of a number of Siva lingas in Jhaalap region and in the vicinity of Maraguda valley along with the ruins of temples here and there one is led to believe that Saivism was a dominant faith of the people during this period.

The patronisation of Saivism by the Nala kings and its popularity among the common folk have led scholars to believe Kadambagiri of Koraput region as a Saiva-Ksetra where Kadambaguhavasi, the first Saiva Acharya of the Mattamayura class propounded his cult.[10]

With the decline of the Nalas by the middle of the sixth century A.D. Saivism appears to have lost royal patronage for some time. Even the Nala king Skandavarman, son of Bhavadattavarman, patronised the cause of Bhagavata cult by constructing the foot prints of Visnu.[11] It seems that the Vaisnava teachers of the Pancaratra cult came in large number to South Kosala and Kalinga and influenced the Matharas, Nalas and the Sarabhapuriyas. It is with the coming of the Panduvamsis that Saivism again enjoyed royal patronage overcoming a sort of cult criticism that appears to have developed during the reign of Tivaradeva[12]. After the defeat of Tivaradeva at the hands of Dharmaraja, the Saivite ruler of Kangoda, Saivism emerged as a triumphat faith enjoying royal patronage from the time of Mahasivagupta Balarjuna for an unbroken period of four centuries. The spread of Saivism in South Kosala in the eighth century A.D. was probably due to the rise of Rudra Siva, the Lord of Amardakatirtha[13] with his coming to South Kosala, Kadambaguha of hoary Saivite tradition once again became the centre of Saiva Siddhanta system and deputed Acaryas for the spread of tantric form of Saivism. His great disciple Sadasiva Acarya is also known to have graced South Kosala and exerted his spiritual influences over Mahasivagupta Balarjuna. Not only that there was the beginning of *prasasti* marked by the Pancaksara formula *'Namah Sivaya'* in Orissan epigraph but also a feeling that Visnu was inferior to Siva.[14] Sadasivacarya and his spiritual successors arranged for sacrificial ceremony as well as for the initiation of the people into the Saiva faith *(diksya)* which was capable of securing spiritual emancipation, the exposition of Saiva doctrine and the running of a free feeding establishment every year during the full moon day of the month of *Asadha, Kartika* and *Magha.*[15]

Rudrasiva, Srikantha, Sadasiva, Pramathacarya and Sulpani were stalwart Saiva ascetics, who by their persuasive spiritual power exerted overwhelming influence over king Balarjuna and his subjects. It was under their influence that the Panduvamsi kings gave up Vaisnavism, embraced Saivism and extended their benevolent patronage for the construction of a large number of Siva temples in South Kosala. During this period Mahasivagupta Balarjuna appears to have made rich endowments for the construction of Saiva shrines

at Sirpur near Raipur of Madhya Pradesh, Mohangiri and Belkhandi in Kalahandi and Ranipur Jharial in Bolangir districts of Orissa.

The Saiva Sidhanta School of the line of Kadambaguhavasi which passed through several phases in course of its evolution resulted in the manifestation of the tantric form of Saivism with Ranipadra identified with Ranipur Jharial as the nerve centre of this system. Gaganasiva II, the disciple of Isanasambhu, possibly carried the tradition of Golakimatha from Tripuri to South Kosala and built the shrine of sixty-four Yoginis at Ranipur Jharial by the side of the temple of Somesvara. The Yogini cult is a part and parcel of the Bhairava cult which is a form of Tantric Saivism influenced by tantric Buddhism.[16] At Ranipur Saivism and Saktism were synthesised in the background of Tantricism which gave rise to the cult of the sixty-four Yogini. Consequently there was an outburst of temple architecture pertaining to Saivism, Saktism and Tantricism in the site of Ranipur.[17] In fact the amalgamated religious concept having the essence of all major religions was popularised by Gaganasiva in the Somesvara temple itself which had provisions for the worship of Somesvara, the presiding deity of the temple, Svami, i.e., Kartikeya, Siddhesvara (Buddha) and Laksmi (Gaja Lakmi).[18] The popularity of Ranipur Jharial was so widely known that a text of c. 1110 A.D. Tirtha Kanda of *Kritya Kalpataru* not only refers to it as Somatirtha but equates it with much known *tirtha* ksetras of Purusottama, Viraja and Mahendra.

During eighth, ninth and tenth centuries A.D. South Kosala was studded with Saiva temples of artistic significance. The temple of Laksmanesvara at Sirpur (probably the earliest), Kosalesvara, Charda and Belkhandi Ramesvara temple complex of Surda, etc. are significant contributions of Saivism to our composite culture.

Mahabhavagupta Janmejaya I, who may be taken as the first king of the Somavamsi line extended the territory of South Kosala as far as Suvarnapur, the modern Sonepur on the confluence of river Tel and Mahanadi. Under him, although there was peaceful co-existence of the various religous sects, Siva undoubtedly occupied the prominent place in the religious life of the people.[19] In view of the extension of territory goddesses like Stambhesvari, Pancamvari, Bhadrambika were popular local deities. After amalgation of the territory of Odradesa and matrimonial alliance with the Bhauma Karas, the Somavamsis appear to have become more eclectic giving credence and respect to the local religious faith. This open support and patronage to local religious faith to enlist the support of the people (who were basically

tribal) particularly during the reign of Janmejaya who was conquering new territory and extending spheres of influence over some other territories, gave rise to a new religious system wherein Siva was worshipped along with a tribal deity on the side preferably by a non-brahmin. We notice the establishment of Siva temples and shrines for tribal deities usually referred to by local names in one complex in various places of Phulbani, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts.[20] One is led to believe that as there was co-existence and synthesis between Vaisnavism and Saivism in Orissa there developed a synthesised form of Saivism in South Kosala amalgamating the tribal cults mainly because Saivism was easily accessible to the tribal people for its simple rites and rituals and phallus worship unlike Vaisnavism with intricate philosophical bearing and organised and systematised rites and rituals. This phenomenon became more pronounced and visible during the reign of the Chauhan rulers who patronised the tribal worship of Samaleswari, Pataneswari, Suresvari, etc. along with the traditional worship of Siva. Even today one finds at least one Siva temple in almost every village of ancient South Kosalan region along with shrines for deities with some tribal rituals.

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9. This *Trisula* found from Trishul Darah is now kept and worshipped by Chanaura of Haldi village in the Maraguda valley.
10. Kadambagiri is found mentioned in the Patalesvar inscription of the Matsyas of Oddadi in the Koraput region. This place is probably identical with the Kadambagiri of the Rithapur inscription of Bhavadattavarman.
11. Line 5 of Podugada inscription, *E.I.* Vol. XXI, p. 153.

12. In line 14 of the Baloda plates the royal Panegyrist while using *virodhabhasa alamkara* for his patron says that although Tivaradeva was adorned with Bibhuti, he was not cruel in the disposition (while Siva is both smeared with *bhuti* and cruel in disposition).

13. Rudra Siva is probably mentioned as Sivacarya in lines 13 and 14 of Senakpat inscription of Sivagupta Balarjuna (*I.O.* Vol. IV, p. 47, E.I. Vol. XXXI, 31-36). He is referred to as Rudra Sambhu in the Bilhari inscription (*E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 251-270). Also finds reference in Gwalior inscription (I.H.Q. Vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 1-16).

14. Senakpat inscription (*I.O.* Vol. IV, p. 48). In verse 4 (four) of the inscription Balarjuna is described as a devotee of Siva and an incarnation of Visnu.

15. Verse 13 refers to the construction of a Sambhu temple by Durgarakshita, who made it over to Sadasivacarya. Senakpat inscription - E.I. XXXI, pp. 31-36.

16. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 16.

17. *Mayurividya*, the tantric *Sadhana* of Goddess Mahamayuri propounded by Nagarjuna seen to have influenced Mattamayura vidya of tantric Saivism.

18. It is locally reported that originally there were 12 temples. When Beglar surveyed the site he noticed 57 temples only. At present there are only 40 temples.

19. *E.I.* Vol. XXIV, p. 239.

20. In lines 30 and 31 of the Vakraten tauli grant Aditya, Varuna, Visnu, Brahma, Soma and Hutasana are shown as minor deities where as Sulapani is referred to as Bhagavan.

21. In our recent archaeological exploration of (Feb.-May, 1990) Tel valley along with its tributaries like Rabul and Khadanga we have noticed such complexes at Urladani, Sakusa, Gantapara, Deuli etc. (Phulbani district), Gudvela, Deulgudi, Deogaon Udepur, Ghodar, Sindekela els. (Bolangir district) Turekela, Batgaon etc. (Kalahandi district).

Schools of Saivism in Kashmir

Debabrata Sen Sharma *

The origin and development of Śaiva schools in Kashmir can be considered from two different standpoints, viz., traditional and historical. Traditionally speaking, four distinct schools of Śaiva thought flourished in Kashmir in ancient times—three of them were purely Śaiva schools, and the remaining one was the Śākta-oriented Śaiva school. It is held that in the beginning of *Satyayuga*, Lord Śiva appeared as Svacchandanātha[1] and from his five mouths named as Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Sadyojāta and Vāmadeva emanated all the Śaiva Tantras—ten dualistic Śaiva Tantras, eighteen monistic-cum-dualistic Rudra Tantras and sixty-four purely monistic Bhairava Tantras.[2] The ten dualistic Saiva Tantras are *Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kārana, Ajita, Sudīpta, Sūksma, Sahasra, Suprabheda,* and *Amsumana.* This is according to *Kiranagama.*[3] *Sri Kanthi Samhita* (a lost text) quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantraloka*, however, substitutes *Karana* and *Sudipta* with *Makuta* and *Dipta* respectively. All these Tantras or *agamas* as these are called, are said to have been transmitted orally in the beginning from father to son, thereafter from master to disciple. The *Kiranagama* gives the list of three generations of teacher-disciples in each case of the particular Agama.[5] The eighteen *Rudragamas* propagating monistic-cum-dualistic *Saiva* thought, according to the *Kiranagama* are *Vijaya, Paramesvara, Nihsvasa, Prodgita, Mukhabimba, Siddha, Santana, Narasimha, Candrahasa, Bhadra, Svayambhuva, Viraja, Kauravya, Makuta, Kirana, Lalita* and *Agneya.*[6] These names also figure in the *Nihsvasa Tantra* (an unpublished Tantric text) deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library and the *Brahmayamala* with some variations.[7] All these *agamic* texts are however not available now, some of them are available in fragments under different titles. The names of 64 Bhairava Tantras propagating purely monistic Saiva thought are given in the *Srikanthi Samhita* (quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantraloka)* under eight heads, viz. *Bhairavastaka* (group of eight Bhairava Tantras), *Yamalastaka* (group of eight *Yamala* Tantras), *Matastaka, Mangalastaka, Cakrastaka, Bahurupastaka, Vagisastaka,* and *Sikhastaka.*[8] The *Vamakesvara Tantra, Todalottara Tantra* quoted in

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the *Sarvollasa Tantra*, and *Bhaskararaya* in his commentary *Setubandha* have mentioned 64 Bhairava Tantras with some variations.[9] It is said that all the above mentioned Tantras survived in oral form[10] during *Treta* and *Dvapara*, but later majority of them disappeared in course of time due to unfavourable circumstances,[11] and under the influence of time.

According to tradition referred to by Siddha Somananda in his only available work *Sivadristi* Lord Siva re-appeared on the mount Kailasa in the form of *Srikanthanatha* in the beginning of *Kaliyuga*, and in order to revive the lost Tantric lore, he gave the Saiva thought to Durvasa, a well known sage belonging to Saiva tradition. He, in his turn taught Saiva thought to his three mind-born sons (*manasa putras)* Tryambaka,[12] Amardaka and Srinatha or Srikantha who are regarded to be the founders of monistic, monistic-cum-dualistic and dualistic schools of Saiva thought respectively. The fourth school of Saiva thought with strong Sakta leanings was founded by a descendant of Tryambakanatha on daughter's side, therefore, it is called the *Ardha Tryambaka* school.[13] In the beginning, it remained an independent school but later it was assimilated into the monistic Saiva current, mainly due to the process of synthesis and assimilation started by Abhinavagupta and his successors. It is now identified with the Kaula school which contributed a lot to the development of Advaita Saiva thought in Kashmir, also called Trika thought.

Historically speaking, the dualistic school of Saiva thought which probably had its origin in the South, came to Kasmir in the 9th century A.D. Sadyajyoti in his *Moksa Karika* mentions that the dualistic Saiva tradition preserved mainly in the *Rauravagama* persisted unbroken from Ruru a mythical exponent through Atreya to Sadyajyoti.[14] He was actually the first *acarya* who propagated the dualistic Saiva thought by writing commentaries on *Saivagamas (Raurava* and *Svayambhuva).* He is referred to by Abhinavagupta by the name Khetapala or Khetanandana in the *Tantraloka* (Ah. IX). Khetapala's theory of *mala* as substance, his conception of categories has been specially refuted by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantraloka* (Ah. VII and IX). Brahaspati, another authority of Dualistic Saivism, also called Saiva Siddhanta in the South, has been quoted and criticised by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantraloka* (Ah. I, VIII & IX). His only known work *Siva Tanu Sastra* has been quoted in connection with the Saiva Siddhanta conception of *mala* as substance. These two writers probably were contemporaneous, belonging to 9th century A.D., but

it is not known if they actually hailed from Kashmir. It is, however, certain that they had good following in Kashmir. Rama Kantha (I & II) and Bhaskara Kantha were their ardent followers and exponents of Dualistic Saiva view in Kashmir. Other writers belonging to the Dualistic Saiva tradition who have quoted and criticised monist Saiva writers were Aghorasiva, commentator of *Moksa Karika*, Sankaranandana, Devala, Kanabhuk,[15] all belonging to 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

Ramakantha I was a well known propagator of Dualist Saiva view in Kashmir, who, according to Abhinavagupta, was an incarnation of Lord Srikantha.[16] He is said to have written the work named *sadvrtti* which is referred to by Srikantha in his *Ratna Traya*[17] (V. 107). Since Ramakantha I is referred to by Narayana Kantha as his grand teacher in his commentary on the *Mrigendra Vrtti* (V. 4), his time may be fixed in 10th century A.D. He is mentioned by Rama Kantha II as his father. Aghorasiva in his commentary on *Ratna Traya* of Srikantha mentions himself as disciple of Rama Kantha II.[18] We may, therefore, tabulate the line of succession of dualist Saiva teachers in Kasmir in the following manner :

Rama Kantha I	(10th century A.D.) author of *Sadvrtti.*
Vidya Kantha	(mentioned in *Mr. Vrtti,* V. 4)
Narayan Kantha	(11th century A.D.) author of *Mr. Tantra Vritti* & Commentary on *Tattvasamgraha* of Sadyajyoti
Rama Kantha II	Commentator of *Matangagama* (Ms), Svayambhuvagama, Naresvarapariksa.
Aghorasiva	(12th century A.D.) Commentator of *Ratna Traya.*

(belonged to Cola country)

Sri Kantha was another well-known exponent of Siddhanta Saiva philosophy in Kashmir. He flourished in 11th century A.D. He was famous for his exposition of the Siddhanta theory of meaning which had been critically examined by Somananda, Helaraja and Abhinavagupta, three well-known exponents of this theory from monistic point of view.

The philosophical standpoint of the dualist Saivites may be briefly summed up in the following manner. They admit two kinds of *Tattvas* – primary and dependent, existing independently. The Primary

tattvas are—*Pati*, the lord of *Pasu* (beings in bondage) and *Pasa* (bonds).[19] *Pati* is of five kinds, *Siva, Sakti, Mantra-mahesa, Mantresa* and *Mantra*, while *Pasus* are threefold—*Vijnanakala, Pralayakala* and *Sakala*. The *Pasa* is subdivided into five—*Mala, Rodha sakti, Karma, Maya* and *Bindu*.[20] The total number of categories admitted by it is 36 which correspond to the monist Saiva view. The *pati* is one, all-pervasive, eternal *tattva*[21] who creates this world out of His power. *Maya* is the material cause of creation. The Sakti is Siva's power inherent in Him and it is the instrument cause for creation. Both Siva and His Sakti are of the nature of *cit* and as such, essentially identical, but there subsists a relation of substance and attribute between them.[22] *Siva* is *svanistha* (resting on Himself) but the Sakti is not. The *Sakti* has eight-fold expressions when it operates in the Siva, viz., as power of knowledge, power of action, power of will, power of creation, power of maintenance *(sthiti)*, power of annihilation, power of obscuration (*tirobhava*) and power of grace.[23] The *Pasa* or bondage is that which binds the *Pati*, and as such is distinct from Him. The *Mala* is impurity that conceals power of knowledge and action. It is conceived as substance which is beginningless but destructive through Siva's Grace. The *Mala* is said to be undergoing maturity but it does not fall off completely of its own. The infusion of Grace is necessary to accomplish this task. The Maya is real,[24] and is referred to as a kind of *mala* which is responsible for false identification of Non-Self with Self. The *Nirodha Sakti* is also a kind of impurity responsible for Lord's bondage. The *Bindu* is conceived as the power which is the material cause for creation—pure as well impure, and as such, can be compared with *Mahamaya* and *Maya Saktis* of Kashmir Saivism. The conception of 36 *Tattvas* described in different texts of Dualist Saivas is broadly similar to that of Trika Saivas with some minor differences here and there.

The purely monistic school of Saivism, which is variously given the name, Trika Saiva or Kasmir Saiva, had its origin in 9th century A.D. In the beginning it consisted of three distinct currents, namely, the *Agama*, the *Spanda* and the *Pratyabhijna*. Though Tryambaka is traditionally regarded as the founder, historically speaking, Vasugupta (825 A.D.) is credited with the revival of monistic Agamic Saiva current in Kasmir. It is said that Lord Siva revealed to him the *Siva Sutras* which is also known as *Siva-rahasya-agama-sastra-samgraha*. On this basic text belonging to the Agama current, three commentaries, namely *Vritti* by some unknown author, *Vartika* by Rajanaka, *Bhaskara* (c. 1000 A.D.), *Vimarsini* by Ksemaraja (1000 A.D.) are available.

Besides these works, commentaries on different Agamic texts by different writers, such as *Malini-vijaya-vartika* by Abhinavagupta, *Para-Trimsika* on some verses from the *Rudrayamala Tantra* by Abhinavagupta (990 A.D.), *Udyota* on Netra Tantra, *Svacchanda Tantra* and *Vijnanabhairava Tantra* by Ksemaraja are included under Agama Sastra.

The foundation of *Spanda* branch of monistic Saivism was laid by Kallata (855 A.D.), a disciple of Vasugupta. The first treatise elaborating the monistic principles enunciated in the *Siva-sutras* is the *Spanda Sutra*, better known as *Spanda Karika*. Sometimes the authorship of *Spanda Karika* is attributed to Vasugupta, but most probably these were composed by Kallata.[25] He wrote a commentary *(vritti)* on the Spanda Karka called *Spanda Sarvasva*. Three commentaries on the Karikas are available—*Vivriti* by Rama Kantha (925 A.D.), *Pradipa* by Utpalabhatta (10th century) and *Nirnaya* by Ksemaraja. The *Spanda Sandoha*, an abridgement of his bigger work, *Spanda Nirnaya* is yet another valuable work belonging to this stream.

The Pratyabhijna branch of monistic Saivism was founded by Siddha Somananda (850 A.D.), probably a disciple of Vasugupta. His only work Siva Dristi is the most important contribution to the whole of Kasmir Saivism wherein he has made an attempt to rationalise the metaphysical theory by introducing dialectics into the system. Utpala deva (c. 970 A.D.) a pupil of Siddha Somananda summarised the philosophy of his teacher in *Isvarapratyabhijna karika*. On this, Abhinavagupta wrote two learned commentaries, *Vimarsini* and the bigger one *Vivriti Vimasrsini*. Bhaskarakantha wrote a commentary on *Vimarsini* which came to be known as *Bhaskaritika*.

The three currents of monistic Saivism mentioned above not only have identical philosophical outlook, their metaphysical theories are also overlapping. This facilitated their complete merger that was brought about later by Abhinavagupta who gave it the name *Sadardhasasana*[26] or Trika system. As a matter of fact, Abhinavagupta did not rest with coalescing the three distinct currents—the *Agama*, the *Spanda*, and the *Pratyabhijna* into one powerful current of purely monistic Saivism, he blended it with the metaphysical doctrines of Kaula and Krama schools of Sakti-oriented Saivism, enriching thereby Trika Saivism to great extent. As a matter of fact, Abhinavagupta was a great synthesiser and perfect master-blender of distinct but similar religio-philosophical thought currents, and this is evident from his successful amalgamation of diverse Saiva and Sakti-oriented Saiva currents. In his writings, we

find spiritual thought, gleaned from diverse but homogenous sources, harmoniously blended in such a manner that it is well nigh impossible now to identify them and trace them back to their indebtedness to many *gurus* belonging to different traditions who exerted great influence and shaped his spiritual life and metaphysical thinking.

The Kaula thought which had its origin in Kamrupa and had spread in course of time to all parts of the country, was probably first introduced in Kashmir in 9th century A.D. by a Yogin called Isvarasiva. Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Vamakesvara Tantra* (v. 92) mentions that Isvarasiva who propagated Kaula spiritual practices lived in a *matha* called *Suramatha* believed to be founded by one Sura or Sura who was minister in the Court of Avantivarman. But no work of Isvarasiva has come down to us, hence nothing more is known about him. It has already been mentioned that ancient tradition prevalent in Kashmir ascribes the beginning to Kaulism in Kashmir to a descendant of Tryambaka on daughter's side who is called Ardha Tryambaka. He probably was no other than *Macchanadabibhu* whose name Abhinavagupta mentions reverentially in his *Tantraloka.* He has given lineage of 18 Kaula teachers,[27] hence Ardha Tryambaka or Macchanda Bibhu must have flourished towards the close of 4th century A.D. or beginning of 5th century A.D. But it is doubtful if he hailed from Kashmir. Sambhunatha was Abhinavagupta's actual teacher who initiated him into the spiritual practices of Kaulism. Sambhunatha's teacher also probably did not belong to Kashmir. All these teachers were spiritual practitioners, hence no written work has come down to us.

The absence of any written work by Kaula teachers however does not minimise their role in shaping the spiritual practices of Saiva yoga. They actually exerted influence indirectly through Abhinavagupta who incorporated them in his writings, describing the spiritual disciple to be followed by the spiritual aspirants.[28] The *Sambhava upaya* which he described in detail in his *Tantraloka,* actually has been borrowed from the Kaulas, though this fact has not been mentioned by him. There are many elements from Kaula thought which got mingled in the Trika thought. It is impossible now to identify them and isolate them.

The Krama current of Sakti-oriented Saivism was introduced in Kashmir by Sivananda who probably flourished in 9th century A.D. His three women disciples, Keyuravati (825-875 A.,D.), Madanika and Kalyanika (825-875 A.D.) carried forward his thoughts. Laksmanagupta

(925-975 A.D.), teacher of Abhinavagupta was a well known exponent of Krama thought in Kashmir who exerted a great deal of influence on his disciple Abhinavagupta. Ksemaraja (975-1025 A.D.) direct disciple of Abhinavagupta and Varadaraja (1000-1050 A.D.), Yogaraja (1000-1050 A.D.) were two other well-known exponents of Krama thought. Mahesvaranandanath (1175-1225 A.D.), author of the well known Krama work *Maharthamanjari* and Sivopadhyaya (1754-62) were well known for their propagating Krama philosophy in Kashmir. Many other Saiva writers were also influenced by Krama thought which is evident from their writings.[29]

The Trika school of purely monistic Saivism postulates one ultimate Reality which it calls by different names, such as *Mahesvara, Parama Siva, Anuttara, Samvid*, etc. He is endowed with Divine Sakti which is given the name Divine Freedom *(Svatantrya Sakti)*. Though it speaks of the Supreme Lord and His Divine Sakti, they are not mutually distinct ontological entities, having a relation of inherence *(Samavaya)* as in the case of substance and its attribute. The *Siva* and *Sakti* are absolutely identical, representing two aspects of the same Reality, the static and the dynamic. The Paramasiva is said to be the perfect equilibrium of the Siva and the Sakti aspects – this concept is borrowed again from the Kaula tradition. Being endowed with Divine Sakti as His integral nature, inalienable from His essence, the Supreme Lord or Paramasiva is regarded as omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent Reality who sometimes, during the creative phase, manifests Himself to Himself as the Universe with Himself as the background. The Universe thus is only His self-manifested form which He assumes out of His Free Will *(Sveccha)*. At other times, that is during non-creation phase, He remains as ever the Transcendent Reality, the Absolute. Thus He is the equipoise of Transcendence and immense, which are only two forms of His real nature, as the sole Reality. The Trika school explains its metaphysical theory in terms of Self experience *(paramarsa)* by the Supreme Lord. This is because it always speaks of *Samvid* or *Caitanya*, the ultimate reality as *prakasa-vimarsa maya*. The Krama is said to be more closely connected with immanent aspect of Reality, and it interprets immanence as an essential expression of transcendence. The Pratyabhijna lays emphasis on the transcendental aspect of Reality. The Trika school admits the existence of 36 *Tattvas* arranged in hierarchical order which constitute the entire creation. It mentions two orders of creation, the pure order comprising five Pure tattvas manifested by *Mahamaya* and the Impure order constituted by 31 impure *tattvas*, which come into being

following the operation of *Maya* and *Prakriti*.[30] The Trika system describes the process of creation in terms of involution *(avaroha)* and dissolution as evolution *(aroha)* effected by the Supreme Lord out of His Free will, while involution or descent by the Supreme Lord is accomplished in a moment, evolution being a gradual process. Since Supreme Lord's self-manifestation as world of multiplicity is a voluntary act, it must be regarded real. These in short are some of the metaphysical ideas of the Trika-Kaula-Krama school of the Advaita Saiva in Kashmir.

It is well known that Bhaskara (900 A.D.) propounded the doctrine of *Bhedabhedavada* after criticising both Sankara and Pancaratra Vaisnavites. He propagated the theory that both unity and multiplicity are real, Brahman in causal state is unity and in evolved state multiplicity. Both are real and not mutually contradictory. This line of thought was taken up by Yadavaprakasa, teahcer of Ramanuja and given a Vaisnava hue. Ramanuja (1000 A.D.) perfected this line of thought, and his philosophy is called Visistadvaitavada. Ramanuja's thoughts appealed to some Saiva *acaryas* who propounded the theory of Saiva Visistadvaitavada. The foremost exponent of this particular kind of thought was Sri Kantha who probably flourished soon after Utpalacarya (10th century A.D.). It is not known if he belonged to Kashmir but Dr. K.C. Pandey opines that he too belonged to Kasmir because we find echo of some of his ideas and descriptions in the writings of the later Saivacaryas of Kasmir. Sri Kantha too appears to have borrowed some analogies from Abhinavagupta. That he was a powerful thinker and was quite popular in his time is without doubt. He was an exponent of Visistadvaita Saivism, but his exposition does not completely follow the line of arguments adduced by Ramanuja to establish his theory of Visistadvaitavada. For, he says that the unity and multiplicity being mutually contradictory in nature cannot co-exist in the same substratum. He holds that the difference between a jar and a piece of cloth. The relation between them is one of soul and body, substance and attribute, etc.[31] Just ås the jar cannot exist without or apart from clay, multiplicity cannot exist without the unity, i.e., Siva. Siva has power to produce multiplicity and this power is His intrinsic nature. He admits the identity of power and its process which is also the view of Somananda and Utpalacarya. He attempted to bridge the gulf between the Agama and the Veda, and this was later taken up by Appaya Diksita from South India, a commentator on his work, Bhasya on the *Vedanta Sutras*, and hence no one from Kashmir took up his thoughts and carried them forward. This resulted in extinction of his theory of Visistadvaita Saiva within a short time in

Kashmir, though it did influence indirectly purely monistic Saiva thought in Kasmir.

To sum up, from different schools of Saivism, many sub-schools flourished in Kashmir in ancient times. Among them the Trika School of monistic Saivism gained popularity to such an extent among masses in course of time due to its learned and able exponents like Abhinavagupta and his followers, that it prevailed in the valley of Kashmir for more than one thousand years. It uprooted all rival schools of Saiva thought from Kashmir and grew into a very powerful school of Saiva thought by assimilating philosophical ideas from both homogenous Saiva schools as well as heterogenous schools of philosophical thought like the Vijnanavadin Buddhists. This added to its depth in spiritual terms and also contributed to its popularity.

Kapalika Saivas

Biswanath Banerjee *

It is from about the seventh century that we find the different Saiva sects developing with some prominence in the Hindu Pantheon. Different forms of Siva were worshipped with different rituals bringing about different sects in the fold of the Saivites and we find them mentioned in the *Brahma-sutras* as the Saivas, the Pasupatas, the Karunikasiddhantins and the Kapalikas.[1] Vacaspati Misra enumerates the Saivites in the same way[2] but Ramanuja[3] mentions them as Kapala, Kalamukha, Pasupata and Saiva. The *Siva Purana* mentions[4] the Saivites as :

Saivah Siddhantamargasthah Saivah Pasupatastatha
Saivah Mahavratadharah Saivah Kapalikah pare.

The *Vamana Purana*[5] classifies the sects as Saiva, Pasupata, Kaladamana and Kapalika. Gunaratna, a fourteenth century commentator on the *Sad-darsana-samuccaya* of Haribhadra Suri, includes the Mahavratadhara in the list but leaves out the Kapalika.[6] The *Naradiya Purana* speaks[7] of the Saivas as "those who are Siddhantamargis, Pasupatas, Mahavratadharas and the Kapalikas."

Because of their distinctive characteristics and other paraphernalia the Saiva and the Pasupata systems do not pose any problem in marking them out as separate groups of Siva followers but the identification of the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas and the Kaladamanas create some difficulties in as much as they are mentioned variously in different texts and epigraphic records. In some accounts the Mahavratadharas appear to be the same as the Kapalikas whereas the Kalamukhas and the Kapalikas have been identified by other authorities.[8] In the view of R.G. Bhandarkar the Kalamukhas and the Kapalikas do not differ much in their tenets and beliefs to enable us to draw a line of *sharp distinction* between the two groups.[9] The Mahavratadharas who like the other two groups belong to the Pasupatas seem to have attained a stage of asceticisim similar to that of the *Paramahamsa* of other religious communities.[10] The Kalamukhas or the Kalamukhas were so called because of the mark of the black streak on their forehead and the *mahavrata* or the Great Vow of the

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Mahavratadharas consists in the extraordinary nature of the *vow* in eating food placed in a human skull, etc. which are also attributed to the Kalamukhas and Kapalikas.

The Kapalikas mainly worship the Kapalin form of Siva and in medieval times they were found popular in the Nasik region of Maharashtra, in Rajasthan, Punjab, Central India, Orissa, Assam and in some parts of northern India and Nepal. Bhavabhuti speaks[11] of the *Sri-saila* in the Andhra region as their seat and they are said to have attained miraculous powers of speedy movement through the practice of *yoga*. The external features, practices and activities of the Kapalikas have been represented as somewhat horrible and demoniacal. It is said[12] that the Vedic conception of Rudra 'has now culminated into the ideal image of the horrid god Bhairava with his wife Candika wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices with offerings of wine for his propitiation.'

We have the earliest reference to the Kapalikas in the *Maitrayani Samhita*, a post-Sutra period work, where they are known as *thieves* and an association with them is forbidden.[13] In the Cullavagga of Pali *Vinayapitaka* there are references to unwanted ascetics carrying skulls and staying around the cemeteries. These religious men might not have been called Kapalikas but they had many things in common with the latter. The Puranas mention the Kapalikas along with the Saivas[14] but they are distinguished from the Pasupatas and other Saivites by the *Kurma Purana* which also says that the sects under Tantric influence are hated by the Pasupatas.[15] In the tenth century the sect was recognised as an important section of the Savites.[16] The Jaina king Mahendra Vikramavarman who became converted to Saivism later gives a vivid description of the revolting character of the Kapalikas in his *Mattavilasa-prahasana* and casts a reflection on the degenerate Buddhists and the Kapalikas.[17] To a Kapalika, it is said, the *kapala* is as essential as the sacred thread is to a Brahmana. The *Prahasana* further informs that a Kapalika used to carry a cow's horn with him for blowing it during a worship as also for drinking from it. Bhavabhuti also provides[18] us with an interesting account about the Kapalikas. The heroine Malati is carried away from her father's palace while asleep by Kapalakundala wearing a garland of human skulls. Malati was kidnapped at dead of night by the woman under instruction from her preceptor Aghoraghanta, a Kapalika, to be sacrificed before the image of Karala Camunda near the cemetry. The terrible-looking Kapalakundala states the reason of taking away Malati for a sacrifice

since her preceptor would complete the course for the attainment of miraculous powers by incantations through the offering of a jewel of women that Malati is to the goddess Karala.[19] Dandin depicts a scene of the wizard Kapalika in his *Dasakumaracarita*.[20] A Kapalika introduces himself in Krsnamisra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*[21] and gives an account of his dress, habit, etc. He says that human bones make his necklace and ornaments, living in the ashes of the dead, he takes his food in human skulls and makes his eyes keen with the ointment of *yoga*. He declares further that after a fast they drink liquor from the skulls of Brahmanas, human brains and lungs mixed up with human flesh keep up their sacrificial fire and they worship their terrific god with the offering of men covered with blood gushing out of the horrible cut in the throats. In the fourth act of the *Candakausika* we find Dharma appearing in the form of a Kapalika. The *Kaumudi-mitrananda*, a 12th century *prakarana* by Ramacandra, the author of *Natya-darpana*, speaks of a wicked Kapalika breathing life into a corpse. The *prahasana*-type of dramatic composition, *Lataka-melaka*, of the 14th century depicts a *Digambara* Jaina quarrelling with a Kapalika. The *Kathasaritsagara* contains a large number of episodes on the activities of both male and female Kapalikas and we are told that human flesh confers the power to fly. Bankim Chandra in his Bengali novel *Kapalkundala* gives us an account of a wicked Kapalika but here *Kapalkundala* is not the type of the one we find in Bhavabhuti's *Malatimadhava*. The *Lalitavistara* states that the holding of a *kapala* was regarded as a purificatory measure by the heterodox elements : *kapala-khatvangadharanaisca suddhim pratyavagacchanti sammulha*. The Kapalikas bore matted hair tied upward in a knot and kept with them a particular type of weapon called *khatvanga* with bells fastened to it. It is possible that the Kapalikas were the *pasandas* condemned by the orthodox schools in literary and philosophical texts. The accounts found in texts exhibit the ugly, cruel and unsocial character of the theory and practice of the sect who were *vamacari* Pasupatas. Their practices probably demonstrate Tantric influence on Saivism. The *Bhavisya Purana* informs that they used to take wine and meat which are parts of the *panca-makara-sadhana* of the Tantras.

Although the Kapalikas were generally represented as followers of Siva, the deity of their worship was very often Camunda. The *Vaitala* shrine of Orissa (c. 775 A.D.) was a seat of the Kapalikas where the *vetalas* were invoked for the attainment of *siddhi*. In chapter XXVII of the *Svarnadrimahodaya* it is stated that 'the venerable goddess Camunda garlanded with skulls exists at a spot on the west not far

from the tank' (i.e., the Vindusarovar), the goddess has been depicted here as of a terrific form with sunken belly, a sinewy and emaciated body with garland of skulls. The deity of worship is Camunda and is known as Kapalini. Farquhar considers[22] the Kapalika ascetics as practically Saktas and in support of his contention he refers to 'the characteristic elements of Sakta worship, human sacrifice, strong drink, and sexual licence ... with ... the Sakta jewellery of human bones, the elaborate system of *yoga* and the superhuman powers that spring therefrom'.[23] He speaks of them as Left-hand Saktas.

The worshipper of the *Aghora*-form of Siva known as the Aghorapanthin was perhaps a sub-sect which at a later period branched off the original Kapalikas. There was no barrier of castes to be a convert to this cult. They are stated to have any type of filthy and loathsome or revolting diet as the propitiator of Siva. The region of Mount Abu has been said to be the place of their main activities. 'The peculiar and apparently unsocial and outlandish practices of this sub-sect appear to be reminiscent of the terrific aspect of Rudra-Siva. Yuan Chwang saw some ascetics at Kapisa in north India wearing on their heads garlands of bones and skulls who in all probability belonged to the Kapalika group of Saivites. There are epigraphic references, though not many, to show the existence of the Kapalikas in northern and western India, in Assam, Nepal and other areas in the sixth-seventh century and later. The Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yasodharman of the year 532 A.D. refers to Siva with a chaplet of bones on his head. The Nirmanda Copperplate of Sarvavarman not only informs us of the Kapalikas in the Punjab but records the allotment of a village to a body of Brahmana following the *Atharvaveda* for the purpose of worshipping Siva also known as Kapalesvara. The epigraph of Udaipur of the twelfth century shows the construction of a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the Kapilla or Kapalika ascetics. In another epigraph of Hammira of Ranathambhor we have the mention of the Kapalika Siva indicating the existence of this sect in Rajasthan in the twelfth century. The Copperplate Charter of Nagavardhana, nephew of Pulakesin -II of Maharashtra records the grant of a village near Igatpuri in the Nasik region for the purpose of worship of the god Kapalesvara and for the maintenance of the Mahavratadharas residing in the temple. The Chatra Candesvara (Nepal) Inscription of Jisnugupta mentions Pasupata teachers putting on garland of skulls who should be the Kapalikas known as a sub-sect of the Pasupatas. The Tilakawada Copperplate of the time of Bhoja Paramara contains a reference to an ascetic who had taken *Mahavrata* and the Mahavratdharas are generally thought to be identical with the Kapālikas.

The Kapalikas may be broadly divided into two distinct groups—Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic. The division might have been due to the impact of or reaction against the cruelty or revolting nature of their own practices, one group perhaps stood against the horrible, loathsome and demoniacal aspects of their rituals and challenged the holding of the *kapala* itself. This section of the ascetics also accepted the authority of the Vedas and even followed the caste system. The other group, strictly conservative following their own original precepts ignored the protest and continued as the more left-handed in practice.

According to Ramanuja[24] the Kapalikas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks *(mudrika)* and is skillful in their use attains the highest *bliss* by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ :

> *yathahuh kapalah -*
> *mudrika-satka-tattvajnah paramamudravisaradah*
> *bhagasanastham atmanam dhyatva nirvanamrcchati.*

The six marks of a Kapalika are—a necklace, an ornament, an ear ornament, a crest jewel, ashes and the sacred thread,—

> *kamthika rucakam caiva kundalam ca sikhamanih*
> *bhasma yajnopavitam ca mudrasatkam pracaksate.*

He whose body bears these marks is free from transmigration. Anandagiri speaks about a group of Kapalikas, probably refering to the more moderate section as mentioned above, who wore the crystal beads *(sphatika)*, an ornament like the crescent moon *(ardha-candra)*, and the matted hair *(jata)*. Their deity is Bhairava, who in one has the power to create, to protect and to destroy. Bhairava has eight forms or aspects, viz., Astanga, Ruru, Canda, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapala, Bhisma, and Samhara-Bhairava corresponding respectively to Visnu, Brahma, Surya, Rudra, Indra, Candra, Yama and the Supreme Being. This group of Kapalikas was taken to the fold of Brahmanas by Samkara and another section of these ascetics was brought into contact with Samkara in the Samkara-digvijaya. The preceptor of this group came to meet Samkara at Ujjayini with his body covered with ashes of the burning place, and holding a skull and an iron lance in his hands. The ascetic observe Samkara and told him, "It is all right that you have your body besmeared with ashes but why you have a potsherd and not a skull in your hand? If you do not worship a Kapalin who is a Bhairava with the skull red with blood and wine how can the

Bhairava be appeased for granting you liberation?" Then the Kapalika and the king Sudhanvan accompanying Samkara in his wandering entered into a fight and the Kapalikas are killed with the pronouncement of a curse by Samkara. Krakaca, the leader of the Kapalikas, then came up filling the skull in his hand with wine and drinking the half of it himself leaving the other half and invoked Bhairava. When Bhairava appeared in the scene Krakaca prayed to him for the destruction of his enemy, i.e., Samkara. Since Samkara is an incarnation of the deity himself it was Krakaca who was destroyed and not Samkara. These Kapalikas accept Bhairava as the great god and profess to sharpen their faculty of knowing by taking wine and eating certain type of disgusting food and always embraced by the *Sakti* of Kapalin.

It is said in Saiva texts that the Kalamukhas consider the following as the means for the attainment of desires in this world and the next: eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of the dead body, eating the ashes, holding a club, carrying a pot of wine and worshipping the god as seated therein. A bracelet of *rudraksa* and a braid of matted hair on the head are also mentioned. They maintain that people of any caste can become a Brahmana by the performance of certain rites since it has been declared that one is a Brahmana immediately after undergoing a process of initiation but a man may become a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kapala. A study of the injunctions and precepts of the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas and the Mahavratadharas will indicate that not much difference exists in them and in all probability they were one and the same religious group with different names under different condition and situation.

On the testimony of Ramanuja we know that the tenets and doctrines of the Kapalikas are like those of the Pasupatas. The Kapalikas also believe in the Samkhya theory of *prakati*, *mahat*, etc. and in a kind of *yoga* on the syllable *OM* having the aim in liberation and end of all sufferings. The six *mudras*, etc. as noted above are considered by the Kapalikas the expedients for the attainment of the desired goal. They declare very much like the Carvakas that they do not strive for a liberation in which no sense of pleasure is involved. A Kapalika is a devotee who after liberation should be a Siva himself and enjoy the pleasure derived from the company of charming beauties like Parvati. Growth and development of Tantricism exerted much influence on this cult and moulded it into a more and more crude and esoteric form. The Natha cult in a later period perhaps developed with the legacy of these Kapalikas and sometimes they call themselves Kapalikas. In an

allegorical way Kanha-pa expounds the creed of the Kapalikas : having killed the mother-in-law, husband's sister, sister-in-law and mother, Kanha has become a Kapalika. Kanha is defining here the code of the Kapalikas consisting in the control of the breath and waves of consciousness, operating the senses like the eyes and ears and thereby conquering illusion and nescience through the union of *prajna* and *upaya*. In this connection the living being has been called Vajradhara, the world is compared to *kapalavanita* indicating perhaps to the woman needed in the *Kapalasadhana* and the devotee is identified with Heruka, who is Siva. Control of the senses and the burning of desires working through the senses are of immense importance with the Natha teachers. The practice is intended to elevate the five senses or the five liquid elements of the body, i.e., semen, blood, fat, urine and stool through *yogic*-process for the attainment of miraculous powers. In the best tantric traditions all the groups of Kapalika-ascetics believe that all sorts of powers can be attained through this body and through the body salvation can be achieved.

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6. BIS, Edn. P. 51.
7. Uttara-khanda, 31. 103.
8. Cf. *Kathasaritsagara* (5.2.8), *Mattavilasaprahasana*, Igatpuri Copperplate, etc. V.S. Pathak, *Saiva Cults*, etc. P. 21.
9. Vaisnavism etc. P. 127.
10. P. Jash, *History of Saivism*, P. 11.
11. *Malati-madhava*, I. 15. 11.
12. R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism*, etc. P. 128.
13. VII. 9.
14. As noted above.
15. KP. XVI. 1.
16. Op. cit.
17. V. Pathak, *Saiva Cults*, etc. P. 19.
18. Op. cit.
19. Op. cit.
20. *Dasakumaracarit*, III.
21. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, III. 6
22. *An Outline of Religious Literature of India*, P. 252.
23. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, P. 233 ff.
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Saiva Agamas :

Extent, Structure and Technical Terminology with special Reference to Temple Architecture

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The sacred scriptures of Saivism, especially dealing with the temple-oriented topics are roughly regarded as *Agamas*. Traditionally, the classical *Agama* texts are deemed to be twenty eight in number. The important texts are the *Karanagama, Kamikagama, Ravravagama, Ajitagama, Mrgendragama*, etc. These texts are broadly divided into *padas : Vidya, Yoga, Kriya* and *Caryapada* respectively, which cover Saiva philosophy, Yogic path, the temple architecture, iconography, and ritual and rules of conduct, etc. It is proposed to give an outline of the extent and composition of the *Agama* text as well as their encyclopaedic research potential, in this paper. To elaborate, select technical terminology would be presented to evince the conceptual import therein, to furnish the encyclopaedic personality of the Saivagamas. In this attempt weightage is given to the technical terminology of temple-architecture.

With the lexicographical background of the author as an editor of the encyclopaedic dictionary of Sanskrit, at Deccan College, Pune and his association with Agama Kosa at Tirupati, it is proposed to present in this paper, the potential of the existing material on technical terminology on Saivism and the desirability of taking up a project of compilation of a Dictionary or an encyclopaedic glossary of technology of Saivism, covering Pan Indian aspects of Saivism, ranging from Kashmir to extreme Southern India. To a pleasant surprise of the present author, a critical edition with notes and translation of a 16th century work, *Saivagama-paribhasa-manjari*, by Prof. Bruno Dagens, published by the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, came under his perusal. The work translated by Dagens, with the name *'Le florilege De La Doctrine Saivaite'*— can be translated into English as - the Blossom of the Saiva Doctrine.

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Basically this text is based on the Saiva-agama text and is divided into ten classes, covering several conceptual technical terms, defined or described in various *Agamas*. The scope of the work however does not confine to the scope of Saivism in its theoretical and practical aspects, but covers many more topics of general knowledge including Grammar, Poetics, etc. It is however the specialisation of the work of Veda-jnana, that he gives several definitions of Agamic terminology covering the topics coming under the four-fold classification of the Agama texts into four *padas* or sections: *Jnana, Yoga, Kriya* and *Carya,* dealing respectively with philosophy, yoga, architecture, iconography and sculpture and lastly with the ritual, commonly classified into *Nitya* or routine, *Naimittika* or occasional, and *Kamya* or motivated. The utility potential as well as the research potential of this work lies in that, it has selectively collected relevant definitions of technical concepts pertinent to Saiva philosophy and ritual practices as well as architectural and iconographic instructions, from various Agamas. A research scholar is at once attracted to this work which could be utilised by his class, as a manual and reference book for several research projects of socio-religious, spiritual, philosophical as well as architectural areas. The work is planned in such a way as it could pass easily as an encyclopaedic project undertaken by a team of research scholars of any modern indological institute. It is proposed to give some specimens and definitions drawn upon from internal Agamic evidence. We may just have a glance at various definitions and descriptions of technical terms relating to several concepts of Saivism. For instance, we get definition of various types of Saivas, various types of tenets of Saivism like *Pasu, Pati, Pasa,* etc. The description of the Saiva texts called Saiva-tantra, we get the definition of initiation of a novice into Saiva-fold. We get the four-fold division of aspirants : *Samayin, Putraka, Sadhaka & Acarya.* We get the ritual details in the form of definition of private and public Siva worship called : *Atmartha & Parartha Puja.* We also get the definition of various terms connected with the temple worship, round the clock and round the year called *Nitya, Naimittika & Kamya* and also the *utsavas* or festivals, including the special rituals called *snapana* or ablution of the deity. We get the patent technical notions connected with the Tantric spiritual paths called *Sad-adhvans : Varnadhvan, Mantradhvan, Bhuvanadhvan,* etc. In the field of architectural technology the topics touched upon in the *Saivagama Paribhasa Manjari* are the definitions and the descriptions of various types of mystic diagrams : the way of sketching

and the mode of worship. We also get the definitons distinguising various types of temples and images as well as *lingas*, the definitions also enlighten us on the relative measurements of the *lingas* and the sanctum sanctorium. The definitions give us information on one storeyed and multi-storeyed temples, the icons of various forms of Siva, the construction of miniature shrines during the period required for renovation work. There is a description of one and many items : *Ekabera* & *Bahubera* and the definitions of various parts covering the horizontal expansion of a temple complex. Some definitions of highly technical nature like the measurements and the scales required for iconometry and architecture and the definition of the three dimensional images with partially three dimensional and partially flat surface and the illusory images or the pictures are also noted in the work of Vedajnana. Various types of images and temples : *Svayamvyakta, Daiva, Arsa, Saiddha* & *Manusa* are also given in the medieval encyclopaedic glossary of Saivism by *Vedajnana.*

To sum up, it may be said that *Saivagama paribhasa manjari* would go a long way to help research scholars to compile a comprehensive encyclopaedic dictionary of technical terminology of Saivism.

Srikantha on Saiva Darsana

Prof. Bijayananda Kar

Srikantha is a prominent Saivite who is said to have belonged to eleventh century and is known in the classical Indian philosophical circle for writing a commentary on *Brahma-sutra* and therein criticising the views of other distinguished commentators like Sankara, Ramanuja and Nimbarka. According to him the ultimate reality is, of course, Brahman of Vedanta. But he insists that this Brahman is Lord Siva and none else. It is neither non-qualified impersonal absolute of Sankara nor qualified non-dual absolute identified as Narayana or Vasudeva of Ramanuja. It is not even the personal theistic Lord identified as Krsna based on the principle of *bhedabheda* (identity-and-difference) of Nimbarka.

I

Srikantha tries to establish his Saiva *darsana* on the authority of Vedic scriptures and also on the testimony of Saiva-agamas. He refers to Sankara's criticism of Saiva *darsana* (vide *Sariraka bhasya* II.II.37) and holds the view that such criticism does not affect his version of Saiva darsana. Sankara has supposed that the Saiva view has only given emphasis on the instrumentality of Lord Siva in matters of creation whereas Srikantha maintains that Lord Siva or Brahman can be regarded as both instrumental and material cause of the universe. This he asserts on the basis of some *Saivagamas* and *Vayaviya samhita* of *Siva-mahapurana*.

According to Srikantha *Brahma-jijnasa* is not self-sufficient. It has to be preceded by *dharma-jijnasa*[1]. In this context he differs from Sankara who holds that the sacrificial duties, etc. are meant for persons of an entirely different character from those who are to enquire about the nature of Brahman. The performance of duties and rites are necessary pre-requisites for the enquirer of Brahman because Srikantha thinks that such actions make the enquirer disciplined and composed. Both *dharma* and Brahman can be comprehended from the meanings of the Vedic utterances. Duties and rites are to be performed,

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Srikantha maintains, until *Brahma-jnana* is attained. Appaya Diksita[2] who is both an Advaitin and also an advocate of Saivism tries to reconcile the views of Samkara and Srikantha by maintaining that a desireless performance of Vedic duties can facilitate the growth of mental purification *(citta-suddhi)* and thus open the gate for *Brahma-jnana*.

Srikantha tries to establish that Siva is Brahman which is possessed of *sat, cit* and *ananda*. Appaya Diksita too maintains that while other deities cannot be ascribed with such possessions, Siva alone is the Lord of that calibre. It is He who is supposed to be the cause of creation, sustenance and destruction of the universe. Of course it is also held that creation, etc. do not belong to the essence of Siva; those only belong to the phenomenal world of appearance. Lord Siva is regarded as the supreme transcendent Deity. In order to express reconciliation between the idea of a transcendent unchanging Lord with the idea of the changing phase of creation, sustenance and destruction, it is said, that Lord Siva "Himself is not transformed into the form of the material universe, but the energy of God which manifests itself as the material universe is a part and parcel of the entire personality of God."[3] Thus though Lord Siva is held to be fully unchangeable in Himself, His energy undergoes transformations and in that way creation becomes possible. He is said to have within Him both the energy of consciousness *(cicchakti)* and the energy of materiality *(jadasakti)* which form the whole universe *(cid-acit-prapanca-rupa-sakti-visistatvam svabhabikam eva brahmanah)*. Brahman or the Supreme Lord is regarded as *sarva*, as everything is ultimately absorbed in Him. He is *Paṣupati* not simply in the sense that He is the Lord of all *jivas (pasu)*, but all that binds them *(pasa)*. Thus Brahman or Siva is the controller of all conscious entities and also the material world.[4]

Samkara's Advaita is distinguished by the well-known doctrine of *maya*. There is a popular reading according to which *maya* stands for illusion or appearance. Some Samkarites try to modify this rendering of the concept of *maya* by holding that the world-experience is held to be *maya* not in the sense of unreality but in the sense of having only *vyavaharika satta* (pragmatic reality) and it is devoid of *paramarthika satta* (transcendental reality). It is quite probable that Samkara's point of view concerning *maya* is understood by Srikantha in the former sense. That is, according to him, Samkarite conception of world is illusory and not ultimately real. Brahman alone is real.

As against Samkara's stand, it is advanced by Srikantha that *maya* cannot be conceived as something apart from Brahman. It is the *sakti* (power) of Brahman. Since Prakrti as *maya* is the direct material cause of universe and *maya* is the power of Lord Siva, He can be regarded, Srikantha thinks, as the material cause of the universe in the indirect sense. Of course it is also held that the Lord is essentially transcendent and outside both *maya* and the world of change and multiplicity. Exposing this point of view it is said that Srikantha would not admit that the world of appearance is entirely different from Brahman; neither would he admit that they are identical.[5]

II

This is almost a summary statement of Srikantha's view-point concerning Saiva *darsana*. In all fairness to his standpoint, it appears that the grounds on which he tries to establish the Saiva *darsana* needs definite reconsideration. Traditionally any view which is held at the level of *darsana* is found to have been based on some *pramana* or *yukti*. Some form of argument, be it perceptual or inferential or even speculative or intuitive is found to have been advanced by a *darsanika* to establish his point of view. Whether the argument is itself valid beyond any point of controversy is, of course, a different matter. But, *prima facie*, there has been a general thrust on the basis of reasoning and argument. In this sense, a Carvaka or a Naiyayika or a Mimamsaka advances his view-point on the basis of some rational foundation. At least there has always been a sincere attempt by any *darsanika*, whatsoever, to establish his own position on some grounds of reason.

Now, when one views the Saiva *darsana* as presented by Srikantha in his *bhasya* on *Brahma-sutra*, the very first point that Brahman of Vedanta must be Lord Siva Himself and none else is perhaps a least argued out conclusion. Conceding for the sake of argument that Brahman of Vedanta need not be impersonal non-dual Absolute, the problem still remains as to why it is to be identified with Lord Siva and not with Lord Vasudeva or Lord Krsna. No specific reason seems to have been advanced in this context.

It is, however, indicated before that Siva is identified as Brahman on the ground that it is really possessed of *sat*, *cit* and *ananda* which are usually accepted as the characteristic marks of Brahman. But here, perhaps, a question can legitimately be raised by a Vaisnavite, for instance, that Lord Visnu too is *sat*, *cit* and *ananda*. If creation, sustenance and destruction can be ascribed to Lord Siva then those

can equally be ascribed to Lord Visnu and there is no clear reason indicated at least in such exposition that one theistic conception is superior and the other is inferior. Moreover, if one takes up the popular conception of trinity into consideration then one can point out that within the Vedic *dharmic* tradition each one of three gods found in the said conception is supposed to have limited function, i.e. Brahma for creation, Visnu for sustenance and Siva for destruction.

It is pointed out before that Srikantha advances his Saiva *darsana* on the basis of both Vedic scriptures and also *Saivagamas* which are claimed to have been composed earlier to even Vedas in certain circle. Now, here it can be said that so far as the Vedic source is concerned there is no definite indication found any where that Lord Siva *(Rudra)* is the highest and other Lords like Indra, Varuna, etc. are inferior ones. Rather, on the contrary, one notices there a transition from a polytheistic formulation to a monotheistic one. And when one comes to the Upanisadic phase, one notices the emphasis on some form of impersonal abstractionism. Even supposing that the *Saivagamas* are earlier to the Vedas and there has been profuse adoration of Lord Siva in such sources, this itself does not perhaps provide any justification to the claim that Brahman of Vedanta must be Lord Siva and none else.

While criticising Sankara, Srikantha advances that the enquiry of Brahman must be preceded by the enquiry of *dharma*. Various duties and rites prescribed in the Vedas are said to be necessary for the attainment of *Brahma-jnana* on the ground that performances of such actions are supposed to inculcate mental purification and balance. But here it can be said that since such duties are prescribed with certain purpose to be achieved like getting a son or attaining heaven, etc., those actions are definitely motivated with certain interests of the persons concerned *(purusa-vyapara tantra)* and as such are to be kept distinct from *Brahma-jnana* which only is directed towards the knowledge of Brahman. If the Vedic sacrifices, etc. are performed without any interests then the very purpose of their performances gets defeated. Here Advaitin's emphasis on *niskama karma* need not be mixed up with the performance of Vedic rites in a sense of disinclination. For, as said before, such actions are clearly purpose-oriented whereas *niskama karma* found support in the Advaita framework refers to the performance of any action without any ego-centric purpose or desire. There seems to be no necessity for presuming that the performance of Vedic rites in a disinterested manner is to inculcate mental purification and balance meant for the attainment of *Brahma-jnana*.

Regarding Lord and His relation with *maya-sakti*, the attitude of Srikantha remains somewhat obscure. At one level, he maintains that *maya* as *sakti* is not separate from Lord and by *maya-sakti* the universe is created. As such *maya* or *Prakrti* is said to be the direct material cause of the universe and again it is held that since *maya* as *sakti* belongs to Lord Himself, material causality in the indirect sense is attributed to Lord. But, all the same, it is also maintained that Lord or Brahman Himself is fully transcendent having no involvement in creation, dissolution, etc. And, in this regard, He is not affected by His own *maya-sakti*. What does it amount to then? The Lord is involved as well as not involved in matters of creation, etc. He is related and also not related with *maya*. Should one not confess that this is, by no means, comprehensible? Further, if it is maintained by Srikantha that creation, etc. belong to the phenomenal world of appearance and Brahman or Lord Siva is purely transcendent of all such phenomena, how at all this position is conceptually different from that of Advaita is not quite clear.

True, *Saiva Siddhanta* has to its credit a rich *dharmic* tradition. Many Saivites, perhaps including Srikantha, have contributed a great deal towards the growth and stability of Saivism as a *dharmic* cult and the profundity of the influence of Saivism in different parts of the country cannot be set aside. But when one takes Srikantha's commentary on *Brahma-sutra* wherein attempt has been made to present a philosophic support of the Saiva cult by way of presenting a specific form of Saiva *darsana*, one finds it perhaps reasonable to conclude that his attempt is not quite successful in achieving its objective.

References

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2. Vide his *Sivarkamanidipika* which is a commentary on Srikantha's *bhasya*.
3. S. Dasgupta : *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. V, Delhi : Motilal Banarasidass, 1975, p.68.
4. *"anena cid-acin-niyamakam brahmeti vijnayate"* Srikantha's *bhasya* on *Brahma-sutra* I.1.2.
5. S. Dasgupta, op. cit, p.84.

Development of Saivism in Orissa

Dr. L. K. Panda*

The origin of Saivism is lost in obscurity. Its history in India can be traced back to the third millennium B.C. when the non-Aryans[1] of the Indus Valley appeard in the Proto-historic period as the worshippers of Pasupati, the Proto-type of Rudrasiva[2] of the Vedic age. The availability of a large number of stone pieces resembling phallus has led indologists[3] to believe that Siva was worshipped in the phallic form. In the Rig Veda, Rudra has been invoked as the Lord of the Forests.[4] This indicates that the concept of Saivism was particularly popular among the forest tribes and aboriginals in India in the pre-Vedic age. *Sata-Rudriya* pays homage to the non-Vedic *Nisadas*[5] as the worshippers of Rudra who is further worshipped as 'Sarva' in the '*Satapatha Brahmana*[6] and *Bhava* in the Atharvaveda[7] respectively.

The early medieval inscriptions of Orissa refer to *Pulindas*[8], *Savaras* and *Kiratas* who dwelt in the Vindhyan range and Mahendragiri as the worshippers of Siva in the Phallic form, which seems to have emerged from tree worship. In the inscriptions of Orissa, Pasupati in the form of Linga is referred to as '*Sthanumurtti*.[9] The *Mukhalingam ksetra Mahatmya*[10], a part of the *Skanda Purana*, refers to an anecdote which supports our hypothesis that the worship of Sivalinga possibly emerged from tree worship. According to the anecdote, a Savara chief who lived in the vicinity of Kalinganagari (modern Mukhalingam), had two wives who maintained their livelihood from the yield of a *Madhuka* tree. One of the wives was devoted to Siva and she was blessed with golden flowers from the tree while the other had no such privilege. Consequently, there was a quarrel in the family and the *Savara* in utter disgust cut the tree at its very root. Strangely, there appeared from the root of that tree a Sivalinga whom the people of the locality worshipped as Madhukesvara. This leads us to hold the view that in the history of Saivism in Orissa, the beginning of the cult is indicated by the synthesis of the primitive tree-worship, proto-historic Linga worship and the Vedic Rudra worship.

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The rise and growth of Saivism in Orissa can be historically gleaned from the Mauryan period on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidences.[11] Asoka, possibly a Saivite before his conversion, in course of the terrible carnage of the Kalinga war, was not merely moved by the blood-shed but by observing the sad plights of the innocent Brahmanas[12] of the Saivite disposition who lost their lives in the Kalinga war. In the post-Asokan period, Kharavela, the greatest ruler of the Chedi dynasty, though he embraced Jainism, wanted to please his subjects among whom there were large number of forest tribes who were traditionally worshippers of Siva. The *Hatigumpha inscription*[13] mentions that Kharavela patronised the orthodox Jaina School as well as the heterodox Brahmanical School with the construction of temples of Brahmanical gods and goddesses. Bhubaneswar, being a *Sivaksetra* from ancient times, it may be suggested that Saivism must have received due patronage from Kharavela. As temple in true sense of the term had not yet emerged, it seems that Siva was enshrined inside the religious compounds in Phallic form during this period.

In the beginning of the Christian era Saivism must have developed with greater ramifications but unfortunately epigraphic sources are very scarce to throw light on the religious condition of Orissa in this period. The earliest Orissan coins[14] contain the image of Siva (i.e., the Kusana coins of Huviska belonging to the second century A.D.). A good number of Kusana and Puri-Kusana coins have been discovered from Sisupalgarh, Bhanjakia (Mayurbhanja), Koyama (near Dharmasala), Keonjhar, Balasore, etc. to strengthen this view. From these coins we obtain the earliest iconic evidence of Siva worship. Similarly, the Andhra-Sata-vahanas from the South under the leadership of Satakarni had also tremendous influence on Kalinga territories during this period. The sculptural art and paintings of the Uttaresvara Siva[15] temple at Bhubaneswar reveal the influence of the Andhra style on the growth of Saivism in Orissa in the 2nd century A.D. The Bhadrak Inscription of Maharaj Gana,[16] palaeographically assigned to the 3rd century A.D. mentions about the images of three Brahmanical gods (*Tisrah Devapratimah Utsargitah*). We are inclined to believe that one of the images was dedicated in the name of Lord Siva as the expression *Tisrah Devapratimah* may possibly refer to the Brahmanical Trinity i.e. Brahma, Visnu and Siva.

The fourth century saw the dawn of a golden age in the history of Saivism, Vaisnavism and other minor religious systems of the Brahmanical religion. In the Peddadugam copper plate grant,[17]

Maharaja Satrudamana (Damana of Erandapalla of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription) describes himself as the Lord of Girikalinga or hilly tracts of Kalinga with his Capital at Simhapura and declares himself as a devout worshipper of *Damanesvara Siva (Damanesvara Svaminah padanudhyatah).* In Kalinga, though the Mathara Kings in 4th-5th century A.D. were patrons of Vaisnavism, they had no dislike for Saivism. The Vasistha king Ananta Varman also called himself a devout worshipper of Mahesvara[18] very probably Siva was worshipped here in his phallic form as per the principles laid down in the scriptures of the *Lakulisa-pasupata* School, propounded by Lakulisa,[19] a historical personality, who was born at Kayarohana (Karvan of Gujrat) in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. Along with the military campaign of Samudragupta, the stream of the Pasupata School of Saivism seems to have flown over Kosala and Kalinga in the 4th century A.D. This School did not believe in the personal attributes of Siva and they worshipped him in the phallic form. The Lakulisa-Pasupatas were followed by the *Saiva Siddhanta* system[20] which popularised the worship of Siva in his personal attributes. The earliest known teacher of this school was, Kadambaguhavasi[21] of the later part of the 3rd century A.D. followed by Samkhamathikadhipati who played an important role in spreading the message of the *Saiva Siddhanta* system in eastern India as revealed from the Asanapat stone Inscription[22] of Keonjhar district, palaeographically assigned to the 4th century A.D. Thus Saivism was in a flourishing condition long before the advent of the Mattamayura (*Saiva Siddhanta* system) and the Lakulisa-Pasupata cults.

The Asanapat stone Inscription, containing a beautiful image of Nataraja, is the earliest known epigraphic evidence indicating Siva worship, in this region with all his personal attributes. This image is a naked *Urddhvalinga* form of Siva with hands. Two upper hands hold a snake, two hands play on the flute, one hand is in the *varadamudra* and the other three hands hold *trisula, aksamala* and *dambaru*. Siva is seen with his two attendants Nandi and Bhrukuti. The image depicts the *Tandava* pose of Lord Siva. Nataraja is usually expected to dance over the prostrate body of an *"apasmara purusa"*[23] but here the image has followed the local style of *Tandava*, accompanied by a *'Vina'*. The donor of the inscription is Maharaja Satrubhanja of the Naga dynasty of the 4th century A.D. which was, indeed, a significant epoch when the Lakulisa-Pasupata cult and the *Saiva Siddhanta* (Mattamayura) School triumphed over the southern and the northern parts of Orissa respectively.

By 5th century A.D., Saivism triumphed over Buddhism, and as such, an Ashokan pillar was converted into a colossal Sivalinga,[24] now enshrined in the Bhaskaresvara Siva temple at Bhubaneswar. The manner of this conversion indicates a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Saivas. The *Ekamra Purana*[25] terms the Buddhists as demons and the followers of Siva as gods. Caves were hewn near this Sivalinga for the habitation of Saiva ascetics. Similarly, Dengaposi and Sitabinji[26] of Keonjhar district contain a number of natural rock shelters for the Saiva ascetics probably belonging to the Pasupata sect of Saivism. This is proved by the existence of a *Mukhalingam*[27] with four faces of Siva as well as the record of the names of Siva as *Sasadhara* and *Sasalanchhanadhara* in the Sitabinji stone inscription.

The early Gangas established their rule in Kalinga by the end of the 5th century A.D. They hailed from Mahendragiri[28] and paid obeisance to Lord Gokarnesvara Siva on the summit of this *Kulagiri*. According to the Ponnuturu copper plate grant,[29] Samantavarman worshipped Gokanesvara as Sasankasekhara, Sacaracaraguru and the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. In the Narasionhapalli charter, Hastivarman calls himself a *Parama mahesvara*[30], although he donated the village Rohanaka in favour of Narayana.[31] This indicates that the Ganga monarch believed in the synthesis of Vaisnavism and Saivism. In the Santabommali plates,[32] Indravarman has been described as donating the village Haribhattaksetra for the maintenance of the deity Ramesvara Bhattarraka[33] who was possibly worshipped partly as Hari (Rama) and partly as Isvara (Hara). It is also interesting to note that the Sailodbhava king Mahendravarman II, though a staunch Saivite, also used to offer his devotion to Chakradhara Madhava[34] (Visnu). These instances indicate the beginning of the synthesis of Vaisnavism and Saivism in Orissa from the 6th-7th century A.D. According to the Dhwemalingesvara plate[35] of king Devendravarman, Bhagavan Patangasivacarya of the Mattamayura School is known to have visited Kalinganagar and initiated the king in Ganga Era 184. This initiation by a teacher of the Mattamayura School must have led to firm foundation of that school of Saivism in Kalinga.

The early Nala kings of south Kosala (Koraput region and western Orissa) Arthapatiraja and Bhavadattavarman were worshippers of Siva in the 5th century A.D. The 32 gold coins from Edenga[36] refer to the representation of the couchant ball and crescent moon as the symbol of Saivism in their state. In the Kesaribeda[37] and Ritapur plates,[38] Arthapati and Bhavadattavarman have recorded that they

acquired the posterity of sovereignty through the grace of Mahesvara and Mahasena.[39] It is possible that under the influence of the Saivite teachers who came to south Kosala and Kalinga from the north, the Nala rulers embraced Saivism in the 5th-6th century A.D. The Kosalesvara temple of Vaidyanath in Bolangir district, though belonged to the Somavamsi period, contains some Saivite sculptures, particularly an interesting figure of Karttikeya Mahasena, of the 6th century A.D. belonging to the time of the Nala Kings. Bhavadattasarma was also associated with Kadamnagiri[40] which seems to be identical with Kadambaguha, the seat of the first pontiff of the *Saiva Siddhanta school*. This Kadambagiri was a Saivaksetra located in the Koraput region[41] of Orissa. In 6th century A.D. Maharaja Sri Sambhuyasa[42] of the Mudgala dynasty and his feudatory Sivaraja, were also the devotees of Siva.

In the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Sasanka, the king of Karnasuvarna and overlord of Madhavaraja II, appeared in eastern India as a great patron of Saivism as his coins[43] bear the emblems of Lord Siva, bull and the full moon. Literary traditions[44] inform us that Sasanka constructed a massive temple for Lord Tribhuvaneswar at Bhubaneswar. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi[45] believes that this temple has been replaced by the present great temple of Lingaraja in the Somavamsi period. Sasanka's territory was extended as far as Kongoda. Along with the construction of this Tribhuvaneswar temple by Sasanka, it is also presumed that the early temples like Satrughnesvar, Bharatesvar, Laksmanesvar and Swarnajalesvar belonging to the 7th century A.D. must have been built by him or his feudatories (Sailodbhavas) who had extended their territory to the vicinity of Bhubaneswar. Saivism practically became the royal religion in the Sailodbhave dominion of Kongada from the middle of the 6th century A.D. to the early part of the 8th century A.D. But they were not the upholders of the Lakulisa-Pasupata cult. But from the preamble of their charters[46] we learn that they worshipped "the matted hair of Siva, which is embraced by the moon with his tender beams, resembling the clean fibres of a lotus stalk, whose radiance is besmeared with the tawny rays of the bright gem or the great serpent, whose tie becomes loose when Parvati seizes Siva by hair, and from which the particles of ashes are washed away by the leaps of the Gangetic water." In the Sailodbhava inscriptions[47] it is also recorded that on the summit of Mahendragiri Pulindasena, the progenitor of the family, worshipped Lord Siva with his "matted hair, besmeared with ashes and associated with Ganga and the crescent moon on his head embracing Parvati as

the *alingana* pose. This is the earliest reference to the worship of Siva in the form of Uma-Maheswar in Orissa. Several such images are found from Krishnagiri, Bankadagarh, Huma, Bhubaneswar, etc. along with the composite Uma-Maheswar image of the Khiching Museum. This Siva of the Sailodbhava times was not terrific but a divine being who is ever serene and eternal (*sasvata santarupam*)[48]. From these evidences it is clear that the Sailodbhava kings dedicated their time and energy in upholding the doctrine of the Mattamayura sect under the initiative of Rudrasiva, the lord of Amarddaka Tirtha,[49] (identified with modern Amouda village of the Mayurbhanja district) and according to its tenets. It seems that during this period, centering round Saivism, there began some tantric and yogic practices and penances, which are indicated in the Tapang cave Inscription[51] which reads as "*Srikanthasya asadhamma;* i.e., Srikantha who spreads the religion around. This Srikantha may be identified with the celebrated Srikanthacarya of the Amarddaka school. He settled for sometime in his *asrama* at Tapang in the Kongoda territory (now in Puri district) of the 7th century A.D. and popularised the *Saiva Siddhanta* system which was sponsored by the Amarddaka school.

During the rule of the early Bhaumakaras in the 8th century A.D., there was a retardation in the progress of Saivism in Orissa. Although the early rulers were all devout Buddhists,[52] they were not intolerant. Madhavidevi, the queen of Buddhist Subhajaradeva I, was a Saivite who burnt the temple of Madhavesvara Siva at Jajpur as is known from the Hamsesvar temple inscription.[53] In course of time, Buddhism, under the influence of tantrism, came very close to Saivism. This led to tthe revival of Saivite activities in Orissa during the rule of the later Bhaumakares. The construction of some caves in Dhauli[54] and Ganesa Gumpha[55] by the Bhauma rulers for the Saiva ascetics indicate the temporary decline in the spread of Buddhism, obviously due to the activities of the *Saivacaryas* who possibly drew their inspiration from Sankaracarya[56] who visited Orissa in the 9th century A.D. The *Ekamra Purana*[57] also bears a veiled allusion to this conflict of religious ideologies. The Hindol plate of king Subhakaradeva III[58] records the donation of a village Naddilo for the worship of God Baidyanath Bhattaraka. Subhakaradeva IV also declared himself as a *'Paramamahesvara'*. The two Baud charters[59] of Pruthvi Mahadevi (c.894 A.D.) record the grant of Villages for the worship of Uma-Maheswara enshrined in the temple of Nannesvara-Siva built by Sasilekha in commemoration of her deceased father Nanna. Vakula Mahadevi was also a devout worshipper of Siva as she used the title *"Parama Maheswara"* in her own charters.[60]

In the Saiva temples of the Bhauma epoch, the synthesis of thought of Lakulisa-Pasupata School, the Mattamayura School and tantric Buddhism is reflected on the face of the sculptures. According to Dr. K.C. Panigrahi[61], the Lakulisa images are the modified forms of Buddha in *dharmacakrapravartana mudra*. The glorious example of this is the Parasuramesvara at Bhubaneswar and the Simhanath temple on the Mahanadi valley near Badamba. Along with two Lakulisa images on the front facade of the *Jagamohana* of the Parasuramasvar temple, the other significant Saivite sculptures are Nataraja, Arddhanarisvara, marriage of Siva-Parvati etc. This archaeological evidence leads us to believe that the followres of the Lakulisa-Pasupata school joined hands with those of the *Saiva Siddhanta* school of Orissan Saivism of the 8th century A.D. and as such Lakulisa was accepted by the *Saivacaryas* or the Mattamayura cult as an incarnation of Siva. In this epoch, the tantric *dharani*[62] proves that Buddhism lost its identity and completely merged itself with Saivism. Thus the tantric form of Vajrayana was incorporated into Saiva tantra and Siva who was worshipped as terrific Bhairava in the Bhauma epoch. A number of such images of Uma-Mahesvar, Bhairava, etc. have been found in the Praci valley, Khiching and other temples of this period. The other important centres of tantric Saivism were Viraja (Jajpur) and Hirapur, where the 64 yoginis were worshipped along with Bhairava. In the Vaital and Sisiresvara group of temples of Bhubaneswar, we also find the impact of tantrism as there are significant representations of Siva as Bhairava. This fierce aspect of Siva was accepted in the Bhairava cult of Orissa in the 8th century A.D. Due to the influence of this Bhairava cult, in the tantric literature, Jagannath is depicted as Bhairava[63] and Vimala as Bhairavi. This Bhairava seems to be connected with the concept of "*Aja-Eka-Pada*" which, in course of time, was merged in the Jagannath cult.

Under the Bhanjas, Saivism gained a stronghold in a considerable part of Orissa starting from Mayurbhanja to Ganjam. Their influence also spread as far as Sonepur in the western part of Orissa. The Bhanjas trace their origin from one Ganadanda Virabhadra,[64] a tribal chief, who was associated with the Virabhadra cult that emerged with the simultaneous rise of Saivism and Saktism in Orissa. The Saivite teachers who disseminated *Saiva Siddhanta* system in Kosala and Kalinga in the post-Gupta period, also extended considerable influence on the Bhanjas of Khijjingakota (Khiching). In the copper plate inscriptions of Ranabhanja[65] we find the emblem of semi-full-blown lotus, a standing bull, a trident and a crescent moon. At a later stage,

they worshipped Bhairava, one of the eleven Rudras, under the influence of the tantric form of Saivism of the Mattamaurya school. In the Sonepur grant,[66] Satrubhanjadeva was the first Bhanja king to invoke the grace of Bhairava. *(Tad Bhairavam Haravapuh bhavatah prapatu).* Nettabhanja of Ghumsar region has invoked the grace of Sadasiva[67] decorated with matted hair, crescent moon, garland of skulls, and the great serpent. *(Jatarhara Khanda Sasankasekharah, Kapalamala Sita bhasma dhusarah / Sphuran Mahapannagavaddha Karikanah, Sadasivam Vo Vidadhatu Samkarah).* Later on, the Bhanjas were inspired by an eclectic outlook and contributed to the rise of Harihara cult, illustrated by the significant twin temples of Nilamadhava (Visnu) and Siddhesvara (Siva) at Gandharadi[68] built during the time of Ranabhanjadeva. It is only with the rise of the Imperial Gangas and the great Vaisnavite teacher Ramanuja, they ultimately accepted Srivaisnavism in the 13th century A.D.

In South Kosala Mattamayura School of Saivism emerged as a triumphant faith from the time of Mahasivagupta Balarjuna. His Ladhia plates[69] inform us that he granted a village to Isanesvara Bhattaraka at the request of his Saivaguru Sulapani who was a disciple of Pramathacarya. Rudrasiva, Srikantha, Sadasiva, Pramathacarya and Sulapani were the stalwart Siva ascetics of the Mattamayura line, who by their persuasive spiritual power, exerted overwhelming influence over Balarjuna and his contemporary kings of Orissa. Balarjuna also appears to have made rich endowments for the construction of the Saiva shrines at Sirpur near Raipur (M.P.), Mohanagiri, Belkhandi and Ranipur Jharial of western Orissa. This sect became dominant in this region with the rise of *Acarya Gaganasiva*[70] or *Goganasiva II* in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. He seems to have built the temple of Somesvara Siva at Ranipadraka[71] (Ranipur-Jharial) and the shrine of 64 yoginis[72] along with Bhairava by the side of this temple. It was undoubtedly a great religious centre of tantric Saivism. At Ranipur, Saivism and Saktism were synthesised in the background of tantricism which gave rise to the 64 yogini cult. When the Somavamsis extended their territory on the Mahanadi valley, they constructed their capital at Yayatinagara[73] which may be identified with Jagati near Baud or Chaudwar near Cuttack. Under their patronage several Saiyite shrines were constructed at Baud and its neighbourhood. The temple of Ramesvara is placed here in a star-shaped *Yoni-pitha* attributed to the tatntric origin.[74]

During the Somavamsi rule in the 10th and 11th century A.D. Saivism reached the zenith of its development and enjoyed predominance over other religious sects in Orissa. There was a spate of Saivite activities in the coastal plains which recently came under the rule of the Somavamsis. The rulers of this dynasty, were staunch Saivites as indicated by the assumption of the title of *'Paramamaheswara'* in their official documents.[75] They introduced the Mattamayura sect of Saivism in the coastal Orissa which was previously prevalent in Kosala, the original homeland of the Somavamsis. As a result, the Pasupata system lost its importance as the Somavamsi temples bear only a few Lakulisa images of this sect during this period. Among the Saivite temples of this period, the Muktesvara, the Rajarani, the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja stand unique. According to a tradition prevalent in Bhubaneswar, Yayati I[76] built the Muktesvara temple when he conquered the coastal tract of Utkal and laid the foundation of the Yayatinagara on the bank of the Mahanadi in the 10th century A.D. The Muktesvara is one of the most beautiful temples of India and has been designated by Fergusson[77] as the "gem of Orissan architecture", by R.L. Mitra[78] as a "charming epitome of the perfection of the Orissan architecture" and by M.M. Ganguly[79] as a "dream realised in sandstone". Dr. K.C. Panigrahi[80], in view of its architectural and iconographic peculiarities, considers it as a dividing line between the earlier and the later group of the Orissan temples. Two images of Lakulisa are found in this temple – one in *"dharma-cakrapravarttana mudra"* and the other is *"bhumisparsa mudra"*. This proves the prevalence of the Pasupat sect and the influence of Buddhism on Saiva images of the 10th century A.D. Besides, we also notice a good number of tantric images like the *Saptamatrukas with Virabhadra* which are prominently exhibited in the artistic skill in the eight petals of a full-blown lotus placed upside down decorated on the ceiling of the *Mukhasala.* The Rajarani temple is a significant monument of exquisite workmanship of Indraratha,[81] the son and successor of Bhimaratha, and a devout worshipper of Siva. The cult images carved in walls of the temple reveal its identity as a Saiva shrine. At the very entrance of the *Jagamohana,* we notice two figures wearing *jatamukuta,* garland or skulls and cobra which indicate the representation of the Saivite thought of the Mattamayura school. However, in the lintel of the *Jagamohana,* there is also an image of Lakulisa in the *Yogamudra* accompanied by four disciples on the side panels. In the local tradition Yayati II is taken to be the builder of the gigantic temple of Lingaraja, the climax of Saivite architecture, in *saka Samvat* 888[82] (=966 A.D.). But our view is that the temple was neither built in the 10th century,

nor by Yayati II of the 11th century who had hardly any time at his disposal for the construction of this colossal temple. It is also doubtful if he was really a Saivite in his religious faith as he was a worshipper of Ambika according to the Murajamura charter.[63]

However, his son Udyota Kesari occupies a significant position in the history of Saivism in Orissa and his reign marks the climax of Saivite art and culture in the State. Centuries of preparation under the Sailodbhavas, Bhaumakaras and the Somavamsis resulted in the culmination of the gigantic monuments of Brahmesvara and Lingaraja in the middle of the 11th century A.D. The protracted wars of the Somavamsis which involved Candihara Yayati II, were brought to an end by Udyotakesari who spent lavishly from the royal treasury and produced these two great Saivite monuments of the East through artistic excellence. In this venture, he was persuaded by his preceptor *Bhavadeva*,[64] the author of *Tantranava* and a tantric teacher, who lived in the Krttivasaksetra at that time. Udyotakesari wanted to represent the ideologies of Saivism, Saktism and tantric cult in the great temple of Brahmesvara which was caused to be erected by the orders of his mother Kolavati. *Ekamra Purana*[65] refers to the *prasada* of *Brahmesvara* as an elderly member *(jyestha)* of the Bhubaneswar group of temples *(Prasadam prathamoyam hi ksetre jyestha sanatana x x x Brahmesvara-iti-khyatam sarvasurasurarcitah)*. The temple was designated as *'Kirttiraja'*[66] by the orders of Kolavati. The temple contains a number of Saivite images, i.e. Ekapada Siva, Nataraja, Arddhanarisvara, etc. Ekapada Siva holds a trident, *dambaru*, and *akshyamala* in his hands, wears a garland of skulls around his neck and stands on an *apasmara purusha*. Such representation indicates the strong influence of the Mattamayura school of Saivism. The temple also contains Saivite and Sakta images in the terrific form which indicate the tantric features probably due to the influence of Bhavadeva, the tantric preceptor of Udyotakeshari. However Saivism in Orissa reached its high water mark when Udyota Keshari or Lalatendukeshari constructed his "Bhubaneswar Deula" in the middle of the 11th century A.D. He, having extended his patronage for the construction of the temple of Brahmesvara as to the pious desire of his mother, was probably determined to producee a colosal Saiva shrine which would not only mark the zenith in the rise and growth of Saivism in Orissa but would also bring about a synthesis of Vaisnavism and Saivism through the Harihara cult. In fact from the 5th century to 10th century A.D. both Vaisnavism and Saivism evolved in Orissa through various stages of antithesis and synthesis and the Harihara

cult reached a definite stage in the cult of *Krittivasa* at Bhubaneswar. Thus Lingaraja of traditional fame as the celebrated tutelary deity of Bhubaeswar was in reality called *Kirttivasa* in the 11th and 12th century A.D. It is probable that Udyotakeshari named this temple as Kirttivasa in memory of the temple of Brahmesvara which was called *'Kirttiraja'*. The first epigraphic evidence of the name *Kirttivasa* is noticed in the Lingaraja temple inscriptions[88] of Anantarama Codagangadeva of the year 1134 A.D. However, there is no epigraphic evidence to show that Udyotakeshari was the builder of the Lingaraja temple, but a comparative study of the temple of Brahmesvara and the temple of Lingaraja shows that there is considerable resemblance between the two. However, by consideration of the style of construction, Brahmesvara seems to have been constructed before the great temple of Lingaraja. The cult images and sculptures of Lingaraja seem to have been more refined and polished than that of Brahmesvar. Hence Udyotakesari is to be given the credit as the builder of the Lingaraja temple. Siva in his phallic form is enshrined here. The Linga is a natural one and is known as *svayambhulinga.* The local priests point out a natural line of the Linga as the line demarcating half of the Linga as Hari and half as Hara. The *ayudha* on the *amalaki* of the temple is represented partly by a trident and partly by half of a disc. The leaves of *Vilva* and *Tulasi* which are favourites of Siva and Visnu respectively are used here for the worship of the deity. The sculptural representation of Nanda, Yasoda, and Srikrisna that appear on the southern wall of the *Vimana,* lends support to the view that the temple had emerged as a shrine of Harihara in the 12th century A.D.

The rise of the Imperial Gangas as the rulers of Orissa provided ample opportunity for the expansion of the Harihara cult. Anantavarma Codagangadeva was a *'paramamahesvara'* and expressed his devotion to Siva in his Korni copper plate[89] (S.E.1003). But in his Korni plate[90] (S.E.1034) and Vizagpattam plates[91] he declared himself as a *Parama-Vaisnava.* This change of religious faith is attributed to his coming in contact with Ramanuja[92], the great exponent of *Vaisnavism,* who perhaps visited Puri between 1107-1111 A.D. and was influenced by him. Codaganga constructed the temple of Purusottama Jagannath and Laksmi at Puri[93]. Thereafter Saivism lost its pre-dominant position and Vaisnavism began to dominate the religious life of Orissa. However, Codaganga continued to extend patronage to Saivism and visited the temple of Kirttivasa again and again under his direction Vaisnavite elements were introduced in this temple, which was already considered to be the shrine of Harihara. The Imperial Gangas

adored Purusottama Jagannath as an embodiment of Visnu and the religious belief of the whole country was centred round him. With the rise of the Suryavamsis in the 15th century A.D. Jagannath consciousness was spread over the extensive land from the Ganges to Kaveri and the monarchs regarded themselves as servants *(Sevaka)* of Lord Jagannath. In this great religious movement Vaisnavism, Saivism, Saktism and other minor religious systems were incorporated.

An analysis of the history of Jagannath indicates that Saivism had rendered remarkable contribution to the evolution of this Jagannath cult. We have noticed earlier (Bhauma period) that Oddiyana or Orissa was a great centre of tantric Saivism where Jagannath is described as Bhairava[94] and Vimala as Bhairavi. This Bhairava cult developed in the 8th century A.D. in Orissa initiated by the Saivite teachers of the Amardaka School. The Saptamatrka images along with Virabhadra in the Markendeswara temple compound prove without doubt that Puri was a centre of tantric Saivism during the Somavamsi period and Jagannath had already attained celebrity as Bhairava among the Saivites. In fact, an image of Bhairava was worshipped along with Jagannath in the jewelled throne for a long time and it was then thrown into the sea by the priests when the throne was under repair. This shows that Jagannath was worshipped as Bhairava for centuries and with the arrival of the Imperial Gangas and Ramanuja, Vaisnavite traditions speedily developed around the cult of Jagannath. H.V. Stietencron[96] finds striking resemblance of the figure of Jagannath— the image of Jagannath with a Sivalinga and Mahisamardini in one of the panels of the temple of Konarka and concludes that the image of Jagannath evolved out of Ekapada Bhairava. In the *Bhogamandapa*[97] of the temple of Jagannath we find an image of Siva seated on a bull, a Nataraja figure in *Tandava* pose and images of Jagannath, Siva and Durga together. This undoubtedly strengthens this view and indicates strong Saivite influence over the cult of Jagannath. Thus in the ultimate analysis with its various ramifications Orissa contributed its own share to the assimilative character of this Jagannath cult.

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Saiva Ksetras in Orissa

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In the past the boundary of Orissa extended upto the river Ganges in the north, the river Godavari in the south, the mountain Amarakantaka in the west and the Mahodadhi in the east. Unfortunately at present different parts of it are annexed to the adjoining states like West Bengal, Bihar, M.P., Andhra Pradesh, etc. In view of its geographical position, it served as the gateway between the north and the south and vice versa. Various cultural, religious and social traditions, while passing through from one direction to the other, left their indelible marks on the soil. The primitive religious traditions traced here include Siva worship in the form of icon mostly in linga form. In view of its popularity one can meet with Siva shrines in the nook and corner of Orissa, so the entire state can simply be called a Saivaksetra. But there are certain areas, which are earmarked as Saivaksetra in view of the specific features related to Siva and they are also depicted in the ancient religious texts.

The term Ksetra is somewhat technical in character. It denotes not a singular spot but an area. There are numerous ksetras in India, which are sacred to one deity at the early age, but different deities were installed there in subsequent periods also. Among them mention may be made of Kasi, Prayaga, Kuruksetra, Puskara, Gaya, etc. which are ascribed to certain major deities of the Hindu pantheon. As to the area of a Saiva Ksetra, Narayana Bhatta's statement on Kasi, as a Saivaksetra per excellence is worthmentioning :

Pancakrosapramanam tu ksetram dattam maya tava /

Ksetramadhye yada Ganga gamisyati saritpatim // (p.101)

And the boundary of the same is put thus :

Varana capy Asis caiva dve nadyau suranirmite /

antarale tayoh ksetram vadhya na visate kvacit // (p.102)

Similarly the *Vayu purana* (2, 43-50) speaks of Gayaksetra as an (*Asuraksetra*) extending to five *krosas* - *Pancakrosam Gayaksetram krosam ekam Gayasirah/Tristhali Setu* p.342. Thus, a *ksetra* points

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to a certain area, sacred to one divinity or the other, which is accepted to be a place of pilgrimage by the devotee of the deity and the populace at large.

Likewise we come across a large number of places sacred to Siva, which extends to various regions in the different districts of Orissa. In the absence of a systematic survey, we have to depend mainly on the ancient sacred texts, etc. of the State.

Among those *ksetras* of Orissa sacred to Siva, the Ekamraksetra seems to be the oldest. Besides the *Brahma Purana* (Ch.41) local Sanskrit works which highlight Ekamraksetra include the *Ekamra Purana*, the *Siva Purana* (I.13:II.Chs.3; 20-30 etc.) the *Ekamra Candrika*, the *Svarnadrimahodaya*, the *Kapila Samhita*, the *Sivalilamrta*, (Chs. 7-10), the *Bhanjamahodaya Campu* etc. The *Brahma Purana* portion, which deals with the four *Ksetras* of Orissa seems to have belonged to c. 12th to 13th century A.D. The *Ekamra Purana* the earliest among the sacred texts of Orissa could not have been composed before the Fourteenth Century A.D. The rest of the above works must have been later than the *Ekamra Purana*. Thus these works nicely deal with the *ksetra*.

Besides Ekamra Ksetra, there appear some other *ksetras* in the State, which probably came into being later. The *Pracimahatmya* (c.13th to 14th century A.D.), which glorifies the river Praci, a tributary of the river Mahanadi, the longest river of Orissa, describes the sacred valley of the river. The entire valley at the interval of one *Krosa* is adorned with one Sivalinga making it twelve in number. Thus the entire valley can be included among the Saivasketras of Orissa.

The *Viraja Ksetra Mahatmya* (c.15th & 16th Century A.D.) glorifies the Virajaksetra as Sambhava ksetra or the ksetra sacred to Sambhu also. The other work of importance in this regard is tthe *Kapila Samhita* (c.16th Century A.D.) which adds Sikharesvar at Kapilasa (also called Kailasa on earth), Dhenkanal to the list of Saivaksetras as well.

The *Bhanjamahodaya Campu* of Nilakantha Mishra, (1764-1792 A.D.) besides eulogizing the Bhanja dynasty also describes the valley of the river Vaitarani which ranges from the mountain Gonasika in the Keonjhar district up to the Virajaksetra, Jajpur district. It is believed that Brahma set up Sivalingas on the bank of the river Vaitarani at a distance of one *krosa* (or two miles) beginning from the Gonasika hill to the sacred Virajaksetra Jajpur. Thus the author tries to justify the area as a Saivaksetra of importance.

The *Siva Purana* (C. 15th Century A.D.) a later work adds some places of Saivaite importance, which includes Brddhesvar at Chaudvara, Cuttack.

Besides the references recorded in the above texts, a large number of places sacred to Siva also developed later on. To form some idea about them some of them are stated below :

Lokanatha, Puri
Nilakantha, Puri
Dhavalesvara, Cuttack
Suvarnesvara, Sonepur
Kosalesvara at Vaidyanath near Sonepur
Ranipur Jharial, Bolangir
Maraguda, Kalahandi
Saranda, Sambalpur
Vedavyasa, Sundargarh
Candrasekhara, Khiching, Mayurbhanj
Manitri, Mayurbhanj
Kusalesvara, Keonjhar
Candanesvara, Balasore
Akhandalamani, Aredi, Bhadrak
Trilocana, Jajpur
Varunesvara, Arei, Jajpur
Akhandalesvara, Jajpur

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Saivite Deities and Connected Problems in Orissan Art and Architecture

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Siva is an important God of Hindu mythology and pantheon. He is believed as Creator *(Sristikara)*, Preserver *(Sthitikara)* and Destroyer *(Samhara)* or Absorber *(Pralayakara)*. He is the Lord of all beings – *Pasunam Pati*, a great God (Mahadeva) or Mahesvara, the Supreme God. This element of superiority to Siva as a Lord par excellence has survived through centuries down this day.

The varied growth and expansion of the Siva Cult had undoubtedly an earlier beginning in the North. Innumerable temples are constructed in honour of Siva throughout the length and breadth of the country and the total number of them dedicated to Siva surpasses the total number of temples of other Brahminical deities. Mention may be made of some of the notable temples in India. Rock-cut Cave Temple at Badami/Aihole of the Chalukyas, Shore temple of Mahabalipuram of the Pallavas, Brihadeeswara temple at Tanjore, Gangaikonda Cholapuram of Cholas, Tinmurti of Elephanta and Kailasa temple at Maharashtra of the Rastrakutas, Hoyasalesvara temple of Halebidu, Lepakshi temple of Karnataka, Apsidal Siva temple at Chesrala and Gudimallam of Andhra, Mukhalingam temple at Srikakulam, Somnath at Gujarat, Kedar, Badri on Himalayas, Siva temple of Kangra, etc.

They are varied in form and height and representing landmarks in the Indian history and culture of their respective period and region.

Orissa occupied an important position in the Indian sub-continent connecting North and South and as a result Orissa is having the distinction of getting influences of both south and north and thus never lags behind from the main stream of Indian Culture. The neighbouring States with rich cultural heritage have also acted, a great hinterland and inspired people and rulers of Orissa by undertaking construction of inumerable religious edifices/temples/tanks, etc.

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A happy synthesis or blending is made by Kalinga artists and master craftsmen to all those ideas borrowed and paved the way to exhibit their genius by introducing a new school or order i.e. Kalinga School in Indian art and architecture as described on an inscription found by Prof. R.D. Banerjee in Amritesvara temple at Holal in Bellary where all the Schools are mentioned viz. Nagra, Dravida, Vesara and Kalinga.

Inspite of all we do not have a chronological history and our early history is shrouded in mystery. A systematic and analytical study is felt necessary to solve these untold facts of history which may help to throw sufficient light to clear all points of obscurity towards the growth and development of the Art and Architecture of Orissa. So we have to fall back upon the existing Archaeological remains both in Orissa and in the neighbouring states to find out a reasonable Archaeological solution; mention may be made of a few such riddles.

1. When and from where did the Pasupat-lakulisa cult enter Orissa?
2. Whether Parasurameswar temple and other early shrines of Bhubaneswar are indigenous conception or influenced by the Calukyas of the South or the Guptas of Kosala ? Is there any prototype of them ?
3. Who introduced the high platform in temple architecture discarding the temples emerging from the ground level as exhibited in Parasurameswar, Bhavanisankar, Satrughneswar and Suvarnajaleswar, Durga temple of Baidysvar and Bhubaneswar Mahadev temple at Balia in Cuttack district ?
4. Whether the Nagasakha or Naga motif used in Orissa is an independent outcome of the Kalinga artists or borrowed from other regions ?
5. Has the star shaped or stellate ground plan of the *Deul* as exhibited in Boudh its prototype outside Orissa ?
6. Genesis of circular 64 Yogini in Orissa.
7. Prototype of Monolithic model shrines of *Rekha, Pidha* and *Khakara mundi* types available in Jajpur area and of the Sahasra Linga shaft.

They are connected with Brahmanical Hinduism. It would not be out of place to mention here that votive *stupas* are found in plenty in connection with Buddhist establishment at Nalanda, Bodhgaya, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Nagarjunakonda, etc. Is it an exchange

i.e. interchange or exchange of ideas between two principal religions or an independent outcrop.

Andhra played a predominant part in the spread of Lakulisa cult worship. Mention may be made of two such important centres viz. Gudimallam and Mukhalingam temples. The scholars believed that the Lakulisa Pasupat cult is prevalent in Gudimallam area right from 2nd c.B.C. So when a developed Pasupat cult is flourishing beyond the border of Orissa it is quite natural that the Lakulisa cult entered into Orissa from Andhra. The followers used to live in caves and in Sitabinji area of Keonjhar a group of Lakulisa followers used to live. The existence of Caturmukha linga and names of teachers inscribed on Rock Boulders in Brahmi character of 5th century A.D. is a glaring example. The existence of the Pasupat cult in Ekamra Ksetra is attested from the names of temples like Parasuramesvara, Maitresvar, Nakuleswar which are named after Pasupat Lakulisa teachers. The Panchapandava cave near Bhaskareswar seems to be the dwelling place of Pasupat followers. Even Dr. Panigrahi believed that the sect was so popular and powerful that the existing Asoka Pillar is chiselled and given the shape of Siva Linga now existing within Bhaskareswar. The sculpture depictions of Lakulisa either in company of 4 disciples or alone are some of the evidences of popularity of the Pasupat Lakulisa cult within the fold of Saivism in Orissa.

The discovery of the ruined temple at Malhar locally known as Bhim-Kichak and the Siva temple of Tala near Bilaspur datable to circa 5th Century AD attestting the fact that the early temple ground plan, the *pagas* or plasters which are one of the main features of the Orissan temple architecture are not found to have been fully developed. The ground plan of Parasurameswar is more akin to that of Bhimkichak. The *pagas* appear as more shallow buttresses than the plasters of the later period. It would not be an exaggeration if Bhim Kichak is termed the prototype of Parasurameswar, though many scholars believed that Lakshman temple Sirpur has a close resemblance.

It is generally believed that construction of temple on the raised platform was introduced in Orissa by the Gangas. But if we examine some of the early temples of Western Orissa, viz. the Boudh Siva temples at Gandharai, Indralat Brick temple of Ranipur Jharial datable to circa 8th-9th century AD, one will find that the above temples are existing on high platforms and their antiquity goes to 200 years prior to the advent of the Gangas. If we go beyond the border of Orissa i.e. to Eastern Madhya Pradesh or Chhattisgarh area, the

temples of the Pandavamshas are all constructed on high platforms viz. Sirpur Laksman temple, Rajiv Lochan temple, Andhal deul in Bilaspur, Siva temple at Arbhar and Jain temple at Arang. So the idea of construction of temple on high platform is an exchange of the ideas by artisans of both regions i.e. Orissa and Daksina Kosala. Since majestic temples like Lord Jagannath Temple, Puri, Sun Temple, Konark are standing on high platforms, it is believed a Ganga phenomenon.

The *Nagas* depicting on the door jamb as part of the decorative motifs are existing on the lintel of Rajim, Sirpur, Arbhar. The Kosala artist has left no stone unturned to inject a sense of reality of Naga couples twisted and rolling downwards from the lintel to the both side door jambs. Since the snakes or *Nagas* are absent in early temples of Orissa but found in plenty in the temples constructed during early Somavansi period i.e., Mukteswar, Rajarani, Lingaraj, Brahmeswar, Megheswar, etc. it is reasonable to believe that such motif has travelled to Orissa through Mahakosala with the ruler i.e. Somavamsis as we won't get any close parallels in neighbouring states like Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The two snake couples depicted on the sides of the window in the *mukhamandap* of Gandharadi in the 8th-9th century AD later became as model in all other temples in Orissa.

The nucleus or prototype of star shaped temple is traced recently at Arbhar in Bilaspur district. The temple is in complete ruinous state, only in ground plan the star shapes numbering five prominent projections are existing with Sivalinga at the centre, the *yoni pitha* is missing. The Nataraj Siva existing on Nandi Mandap is a masterpiece of Mahakosala art and stylistically datable to 6th-7th century AD. It is quite plausible that the stellate ground plan of Boudh having 8 corners or projections are later derivations of at least 200 years after the construction of Arbhar Siva temple and thus the concept is borrowed from Kosala region by the early Somavansis on the soil of Orissa i.e. in Boudh with modifications. The star shaped brick temple at Burikomna in Kalahandi is also noteworthy for its terracotta art.

The existence of circular 64 yogini temples at Bheraghat, Khajuraho and other places in Madhya desa has inspired the Somavamsis to have 64 yogini temple at Ranipur Jharial and Bhoumakaras in Hirapur near Bhubaneswar. Both are having remarkable dissimilarities and peculiarities in size and shape. But in the central part of each circular shrine Siva is existing. None of the two sets bear any label inscription identifying the Yoginis but it is unique in Orissa.

The offer of votive temple model had assumed great ritualistic significance during the Visnukundin and early Calukya time (3rd-6th century AD). Monolithic model shrines in the foreground of Chejerala, Aihole are the earliest examples. A large number of such monolithic miniature shrines is available in Jajpur and Bhubaneswar which clearly shows the idea has travelled from Andhra due to close contact.

The glimpses of Siva *Parivara devatas* and other divinities, semi divine beings that are depicted in different parts on the outer wall of notable temples like Parasurameswar, Simhanath, Mukteswar, Brahmeswar, Rajarani, Lingaraj, etc. are : (i) Ganesa, (ii) Kartikeya, (iii) Parvati, (iv) Mahisamardini, (v) Matrkas, (vi) Linga-lingapuja, (vii) Mahesamurti, (viii) Daksina murtti/Virabhadra/Bhairava Lakulisa, (ix) Ardhanari/Harihara/Ekapada Siva/Uma sahita, (x) Bhiksatana Murtti/Gangadhara Murtti, (xi) Andhakasura Badha/Gajasamhara Murtti/Ravananugraha, (xii) Nataraj form of Siva, (xiii) Marriage or Kalyana Sundara Murtti of Siva, (xiv) Asta Digpalas, (xv) Visnu/Varaha/Gajalaksmi/Ganga-yamuna/Surya/Kama couple, (xvi) Mithuna couple/erotic scenes, (xvii) Gandharvas/Kinnaras/Kirttimukha/Secular scenes etc. Epics like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* too are depicted within the outer wall of temples.

Tantric Saivism in Orissa

Dr. H. C. Das *

With its origin in the pre-Vedic society and on account of its continuity over the ages, Saivism occupies a unique position in the religious life of the Indian people. The worship of Sivalinga as the phallus and observance of Saiva festivals are common religious phenomena in every Hindu village. Siva happens to be the most popular god of the Hindu religion. He enjoys the distinction of being adored by all, irrespective of castes and creed—the Danavas, Yaksas, Ganas, Kinnaras, Raksasas, Guhyas, Devas and so on.

The archaeological remains unearthed from the protohistoric sites of the Indus valley prove the existence of the cult among the pre-Aryan people of India. The qualities and features attributed to Siva in Indus period are noticed in nucleus form in the seals and objects recovered from the Indus sites. Siva here is represented as seated in a yogic posture surrounded by animals and having three visible faces with two horns.[1] This clearly explains the later conception of Siva as a Yogin and pasupati. In the view of Marshall, Saivism and Saktism commingled with animism formed the religion of the Indus people.[2]

In the Rigveda we come across the description of several natural phenomena both in benevolent and malevolent aspects. The Aryans conceived the Sun, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, etc. in their benevolent aspects and the dreadful phenomena in Rudra who went about howling with stormy winds "The dreadful phenomena are attributed to the wrath of a god, which, however, can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the god becomes Siva, or the benign. This appears to be the natural process by which a belief in such a god as Rudra-Siva became established in India in ancient times."[3] In the Rig Veda Rudra is described as Kapardin (with matted hair), reddish-brown in complexion and in multiform, strong-limbed, terrible and tawny. He is three-eyed, clothed in animal skin.[4] This indicates his destructive character. As such to appease the God hymns were prescribed in the Rig Veda in the forms of prayer and praise. The *Taittiriya Samhita* distinguishes his benevolent features from the malevolent ones. "He is called Girisa and in darker aspect he is

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expected to dwell away from the habitations of the world and be called the god of the forest, of thieves, of robbers, who move about in lonely places. In this way his range became so wide that he came to be known as the lord of the quarters. When his wrathful nature was appeased, he became Sambhu (benignant), Samkara (beneficent) and Siva (auspicious). Because of his roaming habits in the forest and lonely places he is associated with the skin clothing of the savage tribes. The signification of the name Rudra appears to be an evil spirit. The Rudras are called Ganas or tribes, and Ganapatis are leaders of the tribes and Nisadas (forest tribes). Thus the tribals were associated with the Rudra. Most probably they were the worshippers of the God which because of his character and influence came to be identified with Aryan Rudra."[6]

The *Atharva Veda* describes the benignant (Bhaba) and malignant characters of Rudra providing the *ayudha* of thunderbolt. He is described as thousand-eyed and killer of Vritra. He is identical with the gods like Aryaman, Varuna and Mahadeva. We learn from the Vedic description that Rudras assumed all the powers, forms and attributes of a *Virata purusa*, the pervader of the entire universe.

In the Upanisadic period he is all powerful and all pervasive God in the universe. Hence it is said, the idea that everything in the universe is a manifestation of the Lord Almighty *(sarvam khalvidam brahma)* as found in the Upanisads is recorded even in the Yajurveda, in which all the different living beings are said to be the different manifestations of Rudra. The benignant figures are his Siva forms and the malignant ones are his Rudra forms. Living beings which fly in the air, move on the earth, or live inside the earth are nothing but different forms of the same Rudra. The beasts and the reptiles which live on the mountains, in the forests, under the water, or even under the surface of the earth, are the different manifestations of the same Rudra. Nothing in the universe, therefore, can be regarded as different from Rudra. This idea is recorded in different chapters *(kandikas)* of the 16th book *(anuvakas)* of the White *Yajurveda* and in different parts *(anuvakas)* of the 10th chapter *(prapathaka)* of the Black *Yajurveda*.[6]

The characteristic features of Rudra-Siva became clear in the epics. He is described as terrible, smoke-coloured, three-eyed, carrying a trident, fair in complexion with matted locks, clad in bark and in animal skins. He is also given the *pinak* bow, the thunder, a flaming trident, a club, an iron dagger and a pestle, carrying the moon in his head. He is splendorous like Sun. He rides a bull. He is the patron of

songs and instrumental music, his body is encircled with serpents. He is described as a lunatic but an Almighty creator. He is four-headed and later on five-headed. In the *Mahabharata* he is given the epithet of Srikantha. Indra out of anger hurled the thunderbolt at him and He (Siva) got a mark in the throat. This episode is indicative of cinflict and coalition of two cults.[7] The bull became his insignia. Thus through the process of transformation Rudra-Siva occupied a prominent position in the Hindu pahtheon. In the Ramayana Rudra-Siva is very powerful. Ravana and his son Indrajit got boons from Siva. It is stated in the epic that once Ravana's *puspaka* chariot got stuck and did not move despite all his attempts. This happened because he disturbed Siva during his love dalliance with Parvati. Out of anger he lifted the mount Kailasa where Siva stayed but was wounded. The gods advised him to propitiate Siva. Ravana prayed to the god (Siva) who offered him a boon that he would be invulnerable to all except man and gave him the *Chandrahasa* sword. The *Mahabharata* is replete with stories of Siva. He gave Arjuna the *pasupata* weapon; Parasuram became invincible by obtaining the fatal weapon from Siva. The episodes of *Tripuradahana* (destruction of three demon cities) and destruction of Daksa's sacrifice refer to his rise to power as a god of eminence. In this way various exploits of Siva have been described in this epic.

Features of Rudra-Siva and his different manifestations are clearly described in *Harivamsa*.[8] The genealogy given in this text brings forth the names of eleven Rudras such as Hara, Vahurupa, Tryambaka, Aparajita, Bhrukapi, Sambhu, Kapardin, Raivata, Mrigavyadha, Sarpa and Kapali. It is thus clear that by the time of the *Harivamsa* the cult assumed an independent status in the Brahmanical pantheon and grew infinitely powerful.

In course of time Siva grew in stature as a prominent Hindu god with his family members and associates, absorbing both non-Aryan and Aryan elements. "The Vedic Rudra imbibed characteristics from many kindred gods, and absorbed many regional deities in his person. Some of these were non-Aryan and had a long tradition of cultic worship, and they brought the traits of those rituals. This explains to some extent the weird descriptions of Siva, his followers and devotees. Siva is night-roving, snake-shaped, banyan-tree-shaped, holds a skull in ithyphallic, lord or keeper of seeds, tiger and lord of cows and bullocks. Behind these terms we can see many gods, some of whom are totemic, others handed over from primitive tribal societies, some death-and destruction gods, some chthonic and vegetation deities,

reminiscences of tree and animal worship, ophiolatry, divinity-symbols of phallic rituals, animism and many other forms of worship—all combined to produce this composite theophany. Each had a different code of rituals but in the Siva-syncretism each was given a place. At the same time it remains true that this complex Siva is a mythological entity, nowhere a mere sum total of all his myriad aspects. Yet each of the component gods was locally worshipped and only in theological works like the Saiva Puranas or the interpolated portions of the *Mahabharata* was Siva presented in his multi-farious functions or manifestations appearing in the totality of his characteristics. The result is that his figure becomes somewhat blurred, the distinctive features are submerged, a philosophy has to be spun about him and he has to become a supreme theistic god to combine all the different characteristics.

The Puranas, which became popular after the epic period upheld the glory of Siva in a more sectarian fashion. The *Siva Purana, Skanda Purana, Linga Purana, Kalika Purana, Vayu Purana,* etc. coined interesting legends to highlight the importance of Siva. The *Skanda Purana* speaks in glowing terms of Siva Linga worship and of the popularity of Varanasi as the prime site of Siva. The interesting story in regard to the origin of Siva linga is summarised here. Several sages with their beautiful young wives lived in Daruvana. The sages used to go to a sacred river at a distance for bath leaving their wives in the forest. On one occasion Lord Siva in the guise of a naked mendicant appeared before the young ladies and begged for alms. Enchanted by the beauty of the young mendicant they sought for his identity. Lord Siva intimated them of his identity. They instantly offered him alms. The mendicant then left the place but the ladies out of devotion followed him to a great distance. The sages returned to the hermitage and were disappointed to see the hermitage empty. After a thorough search they found their ladies following Siva at the outskirt of the forest. Being suspicious of the conduct of the mendicant the sages cursed him that his phallus which attracted their wives should fall down. As a result of the curse the phallus of Siva immediately dropped on the ground. No sooner the phallus had fallen on the ground it began to increase in size abnormally. It became so large that its lower portion touched the nether world, middle portion pervaded the entire earth and the upper part went up to the sky and heaven. The three worlds were covered by the phallus. The phallus of the mendicant stands for limitless power of the god and his omnipotent character. The description of almighty is recorded here.

'digambaro muktajatakalapo vedantavedyo bhuvanaikabhartta
sa isvaro brahmakalapadhari yogisvaranam paramah parasca.
anoraniyan mahato mahiyan mahanubhavo bhuvanadhipo mahan
sa isvaro bhiksurupo mahatma bhiksatanam daruvane cakara.

(The naked mendicant exhibiting the lot of his free matted hair, was none but the Great Lord, the sole sustainer of this universe, and known through the ends of the Vedas only. He holds all the creators of different creations within his own self, and can be represented by the greatest of the great Yogins (performer of austerities), though in fact he was superior to them. The Lord exhibits himself through the tiniest of the atomic forms on the one hand, and through the greatest of the great bodies on the other. He is the greatest of all, the lord of all different worlds, and the source of the greatest might. This very Lord appeared in the form of a beggar in the Daruvana (lit. (i) woods of trees; (ii) accumulation of the heavenly bodies for begging alms).[9]

Various Puranas record the stories in regard to origin of Sivalinga, his exploits and sectarian philosophies superimposing other important gods of Hinduism. Thus the custom of linga worship originated in the hoary past was deeply established during the Puranic period associated with its independent philosophy. Several important sects which nourished and developed Saivism are the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas, the Kashmir-Saivas, the Lingayats, the Siddhantas, the Pasupatas, etc.[10]

Saivism, being one of the oldest popular religions of India entered into Orissa (known in the past as Odra-Utkala-Kalinga) in the early centuries of Christan era. Archaeologically the advent of the religion can be traced to 5th century A.D. There are evidences to prove the existence of this religious faith in the 5th century A.D.[11] The viewpoint is based on literary sources and archaeological evidences. Dr. Panigrahi is of the view that the Bhaskaresvara Siva Linga now worshipped in the temple of the said name was originally a Buddhist pillar which was chiselled to a shape of Siva Linga after revival of Brahmanical religion. The inscription on the Lion (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum) which once was a crowning element on the Buddhist Pillar is assigned to be of 5th century character. The circumstances under which a Buddhist monument was converted into Lingam reveals a rivalry between Buddhists and the Saivas and the triumph of the latter over the former. This is attested by an account recorded in the *Ekamra Purana.* The legendary account reveals that there was a fierce battle between the gods and the demons on the bank of the river

Gandhabati and the gods ultimately won the battle with the help of Siva. The accounts appear to have some historical truth because the 5th century A.D. witnessed the revival of Hinduism under the Gupta monarchs. Thus it will not be unreasonable to believe the fact of conflict between Buddhism and Saivism and the ultimate triumph of the latter.

Another point of consideration in this respect is that a series of caves excavated during Asoka's regime in the proximity of Bhaskaresvara temple were utilised for the abode of the Saiva ascetics. The caves tolerably in good state of preservation are locally known as *'panch-pandava gumpha'* consisting of three spacious chambers with verandahs. Similar such rock-cut caves assigned for the Saiva ascetics are seen at Dangaposi and Sitabinji, the two neighbouring villages in the district of Keonjhar. The temporal paintings in the rock-shelter of Sitabinji representing a royal procession contain a line of writing of 5th/6th century character. It is known from the rock inscriptions that Mukhalingam was the shrine and the saiva ascetics lived with their disciples in these caves. The two above noted archaeological sites reveal the flourishing condition of Saivism in Orissa in 4th/5th century A.D.[12] The Asanpat stone inscription recovered from a place near Sitabinji indicates Siva worship in this region. The inscription speaks about the erection of a temple *(Devayatana)* for lord Siva by Maharaja Sri Satrubhana of Naga dynasty. The image which contains thirteen lines of inscription below is an eight-armed Nataraja Siva with two upper arms holding a snake, the lower ones playing a Vina, one *verada* pose while the other three holding trident, *dambaru* and rosary. It is the earliest Nataraja image ever recovered from Orissa.[13] The kings of Nala dynasty (5th century A.D.) where devotees of Siva and, that their kingdom was conferred on them by Mahesvara and Mahasena.[14] The Eastern Gangas who ruled over Kalinga in the 5th century A.D. are recorded in their charters as the patrons of Saivism. One of the inscriptions of Indra Varman I records his homage to Paramesvara who is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of all the worlds. Gokarnesvara Siva in the Mahendra Mountain was the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gangas. Maharaja Sambhu Yasa, the Mudgala king of Ubhaya Tosali was a devout devotee of Lord Siva. The seventh century A.D. was a turning point in the history of Saivism in Orissa. Sasanka, the king of Gauda who also conquered Kangoda (as is known from the charter of Madhavaraja II, 619 A.D.) took vigorous steps for ascendancy of Saivism in Orissa and destruction of Buddhism. The *Ekamra Purana* refers to the building of magnificent temple for the

Tribhubanesvara at Ekamra by Sasanka. Although it is untenable to assign the temple of Tribhubanesvara to Sasanka, it is no doubt a fact that he evidently marshalled the cause of Saivism in Orissa.

Saivism seems to become a state religion under the Sailodbhaba kings of Kangodamandala. The kings of the dynasty were Saivite in faith. The earliest Saivite temples like Satrughnesvar, Laksmanesvar, Bhubanesvar, Parasuramesvar and Svarnajalesvar at Bhubaneswar and the temple of Badagaon in the district of Ganjam and Simhanath temple on the Mahanadi are attributed to the kings of this dynasty. The copper plates of the Sailodbhaba kings describe Siva greater than the sky, superior to the Lord of divine beings, establisher of dharma in the Yajna of Daksa, deeper than the fathomless ocean, brighter and more luminous than the sun.[15] The Lakulisa Pasupata sect of Saivism flourished in Orissa under the illustrious Sailodbhabas. The existence of Lakulisa image in the early temples of Bhubaneswar suggests the prevalence of Lakulisa Pasupata cult. The names of some early temples were also associated with the sect. An inscription in the Jagamohana of Parsuramesvar temple records its original name of Parasaresvar like Kapilesvar, Lakulesvar, etc. suggests their association with the names of famous Pasupata ascetics. As regards the prevalence of Pasupata sect at Bhubaneswar the remarks of Dr. Panigrahi are quoted here. "It will thus appear that the name of Lakuli and those of some famous teachers of his sect were connected with the earlier shrines and one orthodox work. Besides, the oldest *matha* of Bhubaneswar still follows a custom which was observed by the followers of Pasupata sect. It was a practice with the sect to set up a lingam to represent a dead teacher and to erect a temple for it. The same practice is still being followed in the Bharati *matha* of Bhubaneswar, as a result of which a *gurvayatana* has sprung up within its compound. There are now as many as fifteen miniature temples of sandstone and laterite, each of which contains a lingam. Besides, a number of lingams are to be found in the open space and the niches and if credence is given to the statement of the *Mahanta* of the *matha*, many more still are buried in the kitchen garden. Since each of the lingam represents a generation of teachers, we may reasonably conclude that the origin of the *matha* goes to the time of the earliest standing temples. This conclusion gains ground from a tradition mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the *Ekamra Purana* that Yama, the builder of the Yamesvara temple, gave a splendid *matha* to a Pasupatacharya who lived in the close vicinity of the temple. As it was a practice with the Pasupatas to set up lingams to

represent their dead teachers, this practice seems to have led to the setting up of innumerable Siva lingams at Bhubaneswar, which the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied works represent as ten millions or ten millions less by one. Pasupatism appears to have been responsible for increasing the number of temples at Bhubaneswar.[16]

The Bhaumakaras (737-949 A.D.) ushered a new era of development in religion. The amalgamation of Saivism and Saktism with Tantrism was the special character of the age, when tantric elements appeared in the Buddhist monuments and in the Saiva and Sakta temples. A special type of temple known as *khakhara* was assigned specifically for the Sakta-tantric goddesses. The temples of Vaital, Gouri, Savitri and Gopalini at Bhubaneswar, Brahmani temple at Abhana and Durga temple at Khajuresvar in the district of Balasore, and Varahi temple at Chourasi (in the district of Puri) belong to the *Khakhara* order. They are invariably oblong on plan. Their shape is conditioned by the oblong formation. One of the larger sides, generally to the east has the door facing the presiding goddess enshrined against the opposite wall. The shorter sides at the upper portions have the representation of barrel vault.[17] The temple is intensely dark inside creating a dark atmosphere which was conducive for tantric worship. The goddess is worshipped in these temples such as Camunda, Varahi, Mahisamardini are linked to Saivite cult.

The hypaethral 64 Yogini temple is the expression of intense form of Tantrism, where Bhairava, the central figure is encircled by terrific images of 64 Yoginis. The temple is of unusual character. It possesses no *vimana* or *sikhara*, no *garbhagriha* and no main cult image and roof over the structure. The outline of the temple is fundamentally different from other forms of temple architecture.[18]

Orissa has the distinction of possessing two 64 Yogini temples – one at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar and the other at Ranipur-Jharial in the district of Balangir.

The hypaethral temple at Hirapur, the earliest of all, looks like a *Gouripatta* with a projection of 4' in length, 2' 6" in breadth and 5' in height to its east. From the east there is a passage into the temple. The height of the enclosure from the ground level varies from 8' to 9', the length of the outer circumference 90' and the diameter inside is 25'. The entire structure is made up of a type of sand stone available in the neighbouring stone quarries, with the foundation of laterite blocks. The measurement of passage is 8' in length and 2' 6" in breadth. The

foundations of almost all the temples of Bhubaneswar are constructed of laterite blocks. The middle portion of the enclosure is embellished with a rectangular open *mandapa* known as *Devimandapa* (9' 6" x 8'), the upper part of which shows recent reconstruction. From the ground level the *mandapa* is 9' high with four doors to the east, south, west and north respectively. The niches in inner enclosure and the *Devimandapa* contain the images of Yoginis in chlorite stone and the outer surface contains nine images of Katyayani.[19]

The Yogini temple is circular in shape, with the inner diameter of 47 feet and it is devoid of any projected passage like Hirapur. It contains sixty-four niches inside for the 64 Yoginis. In the centre of the circular enclosure is seen a *mandapa* that rests on four pillars enshrining an image of three-headed and eight-armed Siva in *Tandava* dance pose and the images of Ganesa and Parvati. The *mandapa* here like that of Hirapur has been reconstructed recently. The temple had originally its opening to the south side which is now closed up and converted into a niche containing a figure of Chamunda. Probably on closure of this door an entrance was made to the east side.[20]

The 64 Yogini temples were the great centres of Tantric-Saktism and Saivism. Around the Yogini temple of Ranipur-Jharial, about one hundred Saivite temples were erected. When the forms of 64 Yoginis were conceived and sculpted according to the texts, 64 forms of Bhairavas were prescribed in the agamic texts.[21] Similar to the origin of Yoginis main eight Bhairavas were multiplied into sixtyfour and they were considered to be the counterparts of sixtyfour Yoginis.

A story of *Vamana Purana* highlights the origin of the mystic Bhairavas. In ancient times there was a fierce battle between Mahadeva and Andhakasura. Andhaka hit the head of Mahadeva with his mace. As a result blood oozed out from the wound and flowed down to four sides, From the stream of the blood that gushed out of the head of Mahadeva the Bhairavas were created. From the blood stream flowing to the east was born Bhairava known as Viduraja decked with beautiful ornaments and looking like a blazing fire. From the flow to the south was born Ramaraja Bhairava, deep black in colour associated with pretas, from that of flow to the west, Nagaraja decorated with leaves and Atasi Kusuma in colour and from that of the north was born Bhairava known as Svachchandaraja, black in colour holding *trisula* (trident) and lastly from the total flow of the blood came out a Bhairava known as Lambitaraja.[22] Eight names of Bhairavas, who are worshipped on the occasion of autumnal Devi worship are Mahabhairava,

Samharabhairava, Asitangabhairava, Rurubhairava, Kalabhairava, Krodhabhairava, Kapalabhairava and Rudrabhairava. According to Tantrasara Asitanga, Ruru, Chanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapali, Bhisana, and Samhara are the eight Bhairavas. We also find the mention of Bhairavas alongwith Mahavidyas.[23]

With the inclusion of tantric elements into the fold of Saktism and Saivism worship of Bhairava, Uma-Mahesvara and Ardhanarisvara became very popular in Orissa. We have numerous images of these forms in the temples, shrines and the museums. The rulers of different dynasties patronised Saivism as the religion of their faith. The Bhaumakaras patronised Saivism alongwith Buddhism. Several Saiva and Sakta temples were built at Jajpur and at Bhubaneswar during this period. The Hindol copper plate of Subhakara Deva III speaks of the donation of a village in Uttara Tosali for worship of the god Baidyanatha Bhattaraka enshrined in the Pulindesvara temple.[24] The title of Paramamahesvara used by Subhakara Deva IV indicates that he was a devotee of Lord Siva. The Baudh copper plate[25] of Prithi Mahadevi (894 A.D.) refers to the grant of village for the worship of Uma-Mahesvara installed in the temple of Nanesvar Siva. Various other copper plates of Bhauma kings speak of their patronage to Saivism. it is thus evident from the above noted records and archaeological evidence that Saivism commingled with Saktism and Tantrism attained ascendancy in Orissa under the Bhaumas.[24]

In western Orissa Saivism flourished from the 7th century A.D. The early Somavamsis are styled in their inscriptions as Paramamahesvara. From the time of Mahasiva Gupta Balarjuna Saiva cult began to rise and continued to flourish all through the Somavamsi period. Most of the monuments of Ranipur Jharial, the temples of Belkhandi are assignable to early Somavamsi period. Belkhandi was a flourishing centre of Saivism and Saktism as is known from the excavation report of the site. The excavation undertaken in 1946 brought to the light the remaining portion of Saptamatrikas, a compound wall made of old bricks and the remains of a Saivite temple. The present Candi Temple came up on the ruins of the original Saptamatrika temple. The images recovered from the site and now preserved in the Belkhandi site Museum are : Uma-Mahesvara, Laksmi-Narayana, Ganesa, Kartikeya, Brahma, Garuda, Bull, Gajasimha, Parvati, Mahisamardini, etc. In consideration of workmanship of the sculptures and the style of the temples, K.N. Mahapatra suggests the date of the monuments to 6th-7th century A.D. when Mahasivagupta Balarjuna ruled over the area

from Sirpur.[26] The Somesvar temple inscription of Ranipur Jharial indicates that the Mattamayura sect of Saivism developed during the early Somavamsi period. This sect propounded by Acharya Puranaswami in central India spread to the western Orissa during the Somavamsi period.[27] Gagana Sivacharya, an ascetic of the Mattamayura sect established the temples at Ranipur Jharial. Various scholars have assigned different dates to Byoma Siva or Gagana Siva. According to Dr. Chhabra the inscription of Ranipur Jharial belongs to the northern script of 10th/11th century A.D. But on the basis of the genealogy of Mattamayura ascetics, the date of Gagana Siva or Vyonasiva is placed in the middle of the 9th century A.D.

G.D. Beglar has furnished detailed description of monuments at Ranipur Jharial in his report (1874-75). He has given a list of 57 temples around the tanks in various stages of preservation and decay. The Somesvara Siva temple is the biggest in the cluster wherein is seen the inscription of Gaganasivacharya, builder of this temple. The deity was named as Somesvaradeva.[28] "The occurence of so many temples at this spot is sufficiently accounted for by the inscription which records the existence here of *Tirtha* or a place of pilgrimage, I have no doubt a careful perusal and translation of inscription...would throw much light on the ancient importance of this spot and identify of one of the many ancient *tirthas* mentioned in the Hindu sacred literature."[29] The reference of Somatirtha as a *Tirtha* in the *Vamana Purana* indicates that the place was a centre of pilgrimage before the composition of the Purana. The sixtyfour Yogini temple at the place points to the importance of the place as a centre of Tantrism.

The Bhanjas of Khijjingakotta and Khijjali maṇdala were the devout devotees of Siva and patrons of Saivism-Saktism. The Khandadeuli copper plate records that an endowment was granted in favour of Bhagavan Mahadeva Bhattaraka and the charter was issued to Bhattaputra Rachho for the management of the temple of Lord Siva.[30] According to another copper plate grant of Ray Bhanja, he was free from all sins as a result of worship at the feet of Lord Hara *(Hara Charanaradhana khohayita papah)*.[31] Satru Bhanja, successor of Narendra Bhanja and son of Rana Bhanja issued his Kesari charter in favour of Lord Samkara. In this way the Bhanjas patronised Saivism and made Khijjingakotta the great centre of Art, learning and culture. It is interesting to note that the Bhanjas of Khiching worshipped Siva in the form of an excellent over life size image of Hara in chlorite cist and his attendants Canda and Prachanda (life size). They are not only the representative specimens of Bhanja Art but are the presiding

deities of the Bhanja rulers. It is surprising that Khiching was the only place in Orissa where Siva-Bhairava was worshipped in iconic form alongwith Sivalingams in other shrines. In the views of N.N Vasu the Bhanjas worshipped the terrific Bhairavas in various forms.[32]

Towards the close of 8th century A.D. a branch of the Bhanjas flourished at Dhritipura in the modern Sonepur region. Satrubhanja is the founder of the town Gandhatapati identified with the modern Gandharadi where we find the twin temples of Siddhesvara and Nilamadhava. Both the temples are similar in style having the same dimension. The placement of a Sivalinga as the crowning element in the temple of Siddhesvara is a peculiarity not marked in other Saivite temples of Orissa. In his Sonepur copper plate grant the monarch invoked the grace of Bhairava.

Samharakalahutabhugvikaralaghora
sambhantekimkarakritanta nitanta bhinnam
bhinnandhakasura mahagahanatapatram
tad bhairavam Haravapuh bhavatahprapatu[33]

The above invocatory verses reveal the allegiance of the monarch to Bhairava. Satru Bhanja, according to Kumurkela grant, donated lands to Bhatta-Manoratha, a resident of Gandhatapati.

It is interesting to note that the construction of twin temples at Gandharadi relates the eclectic attitude of the monarch to both Saivism and Vaisnavism.

This process of synthesis seems to have started from the time of the Sailodbhavas and the Gangas who, inspite of their abiding faith in Saivism, were also votaries of Visnu in the form of Narayana and Madhava. The same process passed through an evolution under the Bhauma-karas and the Bhanjas who were also patrons of Vaisnavism and Saivism. It was this synthesis which ultimately led the Somavamsis to harmonise the two leading faiths in the Harihara cult which reached high watermark in the temple of Lingaraja.[34] This process of amalgamation of Siva and Vishnu is attested by the *Ekamra Purana*.[35]

The Bhanjas who ruled from Banjulvaka in Ghumsar region of Ganjam district were ardent followers of Saivism. This is averred by the Orissa Museum Plates[36] of Bidyadhar Bhanja in the following verse.

"Jayatu Kusumavana Prana Vikshobhadaksham
Svakirana Pariveshorjityajimendu lekha
Tribhuvanah bhavanantardyota bhasvat Pradipah
Kanakanikashagauram vibhrunetram Harsya".

In this way the Bhanja rulers of different branches exhibited their strong faith in Saivism and accordingly they recorded their allegiance in their copper plate grants.

Baudh, in Phulbani district was a great centre of Tantric Buddhism and Tantric Saivism. The Tantric elements are nearly discernible in their temples built at Baudh. The Somanath group of Saivite temples built by the Bhanjas exhibit certain peculiar phenomena in the shrines. The basement of the temples is star-shaped and the sakti over which the Siva-linga is installed is also star-like. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi suggests that this peculiar feature is due to Tantric influence and the star shape itself is a Tantric Yantra or *Mandala* or *Chakra*.

The Ganga epoch ushered in a new era of development in religion. The earlier Gangas were Saivites but with the advent of Ramanuja to Puri Chodagangadeva embraced Vaisnavism and as his allegiance to this faith he caused the construction of Sri Jagannath Temple and Laksmi Temple at Puri. The next rulers of Ganga dynasty popularised and spread the tenets of Vaisnavism and Jagannath cult, in eastern and southern India. Anangabhimadeva III is stated to have elaborated the rituals and the worship pattern of Jagannath temple and constructed the temples of Purusottama and Jagannath at Abhinava varanasi kataka.[37] Despite their affiliation to Jagannath the Ganga monarchs paid the same reverence to Siva, they elaborated the service-pattern of other Saivite centres and constructed several Saivite temples such as Meghesvara, Bhaskaresvara, Yamesvara, Sarideul at Bhubaneswar, Saivite temples at Jajpur, Mukhalingam and Draksharam. The donation of perpetual lamp in the temple of Lingaraja and in the shrine of Kedaresvar, proves their veneration to Lord Siva. The introduction of Natamandap and Bhogamandapa to the Lingaraj temple was evidently a new innovation under the Gangas. Being eclectic in their religious attitude the Ganga monarchs have exhibited their catholicity to the cults other than the Vaisnavite one already established by their predecessors. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the Saivite cult continued to flourish under the Gangas alongwith Vaisnavism.

The Surya-Vamsi Gajapati who succeeded the Gangas did not introduce any new feature in the realm of Saivism but followed the age-old tradition in the same manner showing their eclecticism to all existing religious faiths.[38]

In the religious history of India, Saivism played a very significant role all through the ages right from the pre-vedic period. It is the only

religious faith which continues unabated under the patronage of the monarchs and the popular support. The sectrian rivalry which cropped up in the various phases of religious history could not subdue Saivism but rather absorbed its quintessence in their tenets. Such is the munificence and magnanimity of the cult Vaisnavism, the last greatest trend of Hinduism could not superimpose Saivism because of its deep root and unabiding popularity in the religious arena. The amalgamation of Vaisnavism with Saivism brought forth the synthetic cult of Hari-Hara. Despite the technological changes and broadbased social change in the modern period Saivism is still the mainstream of Indian religion.

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Alphabetical Panegyrics in Rudrasudhanidhi

Rajkishore Mishra*

The *Rudrasudhānidhi* by Nārāyana Avadhūta Swāmī is a rare prose treatise in Oriya composed sometime in the early part of the sixteenth century. The available text, first edited by Dr. Karunakar Kar and published by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi in 1965, is incomplete because of non-availability of the whole version. Subsequent editions by Prof. P. Pradhan and Dr. K.C. Sahoo also do not offer the full text except elaborate discourses on the same incomplete text.

The book though composed in the medieval style of fiction-writing is unique in its tone and rhythm. It is both prosy and flavoured with interplay of emotional outpourings in a poetic vein, at times, imitating the works of Subandhu or Banabhatta. The reading of the text gives an impression of the prevalent religious map of medieval Orissa which was swept by divergent faiths as propagated by Buddhists, Śaivites, Śākta pontiffs, Nathayogins and the devouts of neo-Vaiṣṇavism. Its title presupposes a Śaivite work, but as one goes through it, one hesitates to brand it as Saivite text proper. Does this work anticipate a form of conquest over prevalent Śaivism as we find in the Sanskrit allegorical play, *Bhakti Vaibhavam* by Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadevacarya of early 16th century?

The author who identifies himself as the devotee of Bhuvanesvari at Ekamra Kṣetra (*Śrī Ekāmravana āśrita Śrī Bhuvaneśvarī Devīnka Varaputra*) happens to be an adept in *Ṣaṭ Śāstra, navadhā vyākaraṇa, aṣṭādaśa vidyā, rasāyana, mantrauṣadhi* as certified by him at the beginning of his work. The author introduces his protagonist, Abhinava Caitanya by name, who happens to be a servitor of Rudra, enjoying the latter's company in his abode upon mount Kailas on the bank of Lake Mānasarovar. In a whimsical test conducted by Lord Śiva, Abhinava fails to come up to his estimation and is finally cursed to be reborn as a mortal down the earth beḷow. The mind-born daughter *(mānasa kanyā)* of Pārvatī who distracted Abhinava was also cursed to be born as a mortal princess. Both would solemnise their marriage upon the earth. On this backdrop, the author stretches his Yogic vision and brings into the body of his fiction an elaborate debate. The prospect of assuming a mortal frame and undergoing nightmarish existence,

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preceded by murky confinement in mother's womb unnerves the protagonist. Utter abandonment chills him. On the brink of transgression he desperately looks forward to his master, supplicates him with utmost devotion and urgency.

Abhinava invokes the grace of Śiva in inspiring panegyrics in an alphabetical sequence. Here one is reminded of the famous *Śiva Sahasra Nāma* suggested to Upamanyu by Brahmā in the *anuśāsana parva* of the *Mahābhārat*. The list of epithets used in honour of Śiva by Abhinava Caitanya is quite fascinating for analysis. Between the Mahābhārat and the Rudrasudhānidhi, there is an intermission of more than two thousand years. During this period the vedic Rudra has undergone many a spiritual transformation and has been assimilated into a complex religious fabric of Hinduism. Shrines/ temples have been raised, texts have been canonized and different Śaivite schools have already announced their classic stand. In Orissa too, with the rise and fall of dynasties, Śaivism received a greater impetus. It got itself reoriented with regional mores, though more with the Schools of lingering Buddhism and Nathism that found ancient Orissa most conducive. Mendicants and exponents of varied strands of Śaivism both from the Southern and Northern India made their frequent visits to Orissa to pay their homage to Lord Puruṣottam at Puri, Kṛittivāsa at Bhubaneswar and Devī Virajā at Jajpur — three different Kṣetras of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti. Unlike other states in India, Orissa occupies a unique place in assimilation of pan-Indian culture. Here one finds Lingaṁ of various sizes hewn into varying stones and occupying the plains, hills, forests, river banks, sea shore and inaccessible caverns. Saiva icons here also present a very complex scenario which includes all known manifestations of Lord Śiva, i.e. Aja Ekapāda, Ardha Nārīśvara, Gangādhara, Rāvaṇānugraha, Bhikṣāṭana, Tripurari, Lingodbhava, Candraśekhara etc.

The *pañcaśatvarṇa stuti* of Abhinava Caitanya refers to more than 1200 epithets in fifty letters of the alphabet including all the vowels and consonants. The following description shows a wide range of the author's canvas :

Ka : Kunda Kumuda Kuraṅgadhara
Karpūra Karakakara sama dhavala
Kambu (conch) sama Kaṇṭha
Kokanada mālā ābharana
Kākodara Karikana
Kuraṅga carmakaṭi śobhana

Kalānala nayana, Karne kundala mandita

Krṣṇavarṇa bhujanga (black snake), makara kara (holding a crocodile?), Kalanidhi dhara (holding the moon)

Kālikā sevita caraṇa, Kālāntaka rūpa, Kapilānana, Kapilasa Kandara nivāsana (residing on the mount Kapilas in Orissa)

Kudharanandinī (Pārvatī) Kuca kuṅkuma lepana,

Kārttikeśvara sevita caraṇa paṅkaja

Kuṭila jaṭājūṭa maṇḍita śira

Krṣṇātmika etc.

Kha : Khaṇḍa Indu (crescent moon) mukuta

Khaṭvāṅgadhara

Khaṇḍa paraśudhara

Khapara dhārinī ramaṇa (consort of Camunda) etc.

Ga : Gaganāntaka, Gagana Śarīra

Girijārdha Śarīra (Ardhanārīśvara)

Gopālaka (cowherd boy) etc.

Gha : Jñāna parāyaṇa, ghana ghoṣaṇa pināka

Na : Nirāmaya, Nirguṇa, Nīlanalina nayana, Nīlācalapati Ātmana

Ca : Candracūda

Caitanya Svarūpa

Catuṣaṣṭhi Yoginī mukhacumbita etc.

Cha : Chadma māyātmana, Chayāsama etc.

Ja : Yamabhagnī Yamunā samāna Jaṭājūṭa maṇḍana

Releaser of Jāgrata, Svapna and Suṣupti conditions, Jvalana, Jaṅgama etc.

Jha : Jhaśaketana dahana (destroyer of Cupid)

Na : Niśākara vadana

Niścinta sahajananda

Nṛtyarūpana

Nāgabharaṇa

Ta : Taḷā tala trijagat tāṇḍava āropaṇa

Tha : Thana pārvati Prāneśvara

Ṭhikadhṛti ṭhāba deśa brāhmana Udara sthita

Da : Ḍambaru āḍambara

Ḍākinigaṇa sevita

Ḍha: Ḍhaḷahaḷa pañca vodana sooobhita

Ṇa : Aṇa akṣara arhita

Aṇakha pañca kusuma sāyaka

Ta : Trailokyeśvara, Triśūḷadhara, Trikāḷajña

Trikoṇāgni Sandipana, Triśira, Tripurāntaka

Tha : Thāvara jaṅgama kīṭa patangādi sambhūta
Stambhana, mohana, goṭika, anjana, pādukā, lepana aṣṭadhātu karaṇa

Da : Damṣṭrākarāḷa Kālagaṇa vesṭita
Dantīmukha sevana
Daśa digambara
Devakīsuta vandita
Daśadala Kamala Koṣagata dvādaśāditya teja
Dwidala Kamaḷa nivaša, dvādaśa padma dāmaśarīra
Durgā mukha maṇḍaḷa maṇḍita gaṇḍasthaḷa

Dha : Dhyāna parāyaṇa
Dharitrī Śarīra
Dhṛti Svarūpa
Dhīradhi pradīpa
Dhavaḷa Ganga Śekhara, Dharma māyā
Dharmādharma vivarjita.

Na : Narapati, Nāgapati, Nagapati, Nākapati, Nalīnipati, Nanda pati, Nayana pati, Nidhi pati, Niśācarapati, Nīḷācaḷa pati cintita padmadvyaya

Pa : Parama Purusa
Pātāḷa taḷa nivāsa
Pancānana, paraśudhara,
Praṇavātmaka
Puṇḍarīka carma āsana
Parama Haṅsa
Pañcāśa varṇa bheda etc.

Pha : Phanipati

Va : Viśva prapañca brahmāṇḍakaraṇa, Brahma Svarūpa
Vīnāvādana priya

Bha: Bhūdhara bhūṣana
Bhāgirathī Śiraśobhita
Bhāskara Svarūpa, Bhīma rūpa, Bhadreśvara
Bhairav
Bhramara kuhara nivāsa
Bhavalokeśvara, Bhīkṣaṇna bhojana
Bhubaneśwara
Bhasma vilepana

Ma : Māyādhara, Mayātīta, Munimana mānasa haṁsa
Maheśvara, Mūḷastaṁbha, Mantra Śarīra, Mrutyuñjaya, Mukteśvara, Makara Svarūpa, Mṛgapati

Ya : Yajñeśvara, Yogapriya
Ra : Rāmacandra vandita, Rājarājeśvara Rasamaya etc.
La : Langaḷadhara, Lingātmaka Lingarāj, Lokanath etc
Va : Barirāśi udāra Basumati nitamba
S'a : Śaśadhara śekhara Sārangadhara Śrihaṭṭapātna Vihāra Sātakumbha Kaṭimekhala Śabdātīta, Śukreśvara, Śiśuveda
Sa : Satyayuga aiśvarya nidhāna, Saptāśvratha maṇḍita
Ṣa : Ṣatsahasrātmika Ṣaṭcakra madhyeka
Ha : Haḷadhara, Haṭha Yogeśvara Hāḍamālā máṇḍana Śarīra Hastīcarma paridhana Hiraṇmaya
Ksa : Kṣetrādhipa Kṣīrasamudra viharaṇa
A Ardha śarīra, Ayoniyāta, Aparājita, Akṣara Svarūpa Ambikā adhara pallaba rasāmṛta pānaka Aprakāśa, aşthimālā bibhūṣita
A Ādimadhyānta rahita
I Iśvara, Indrapada dāyaka
U Umāpati, Urma dhūmra Jyoti Jvālādira nivāraṇa Ulagnanātha Ure maṇḍita uttama pannaga, Urmimālā sama, Uttara diga nivāsa
R : Rūpeśvara, Lūka madhya agocara pūrita
E : Ekāmravanavihāra, Ekādaśa Rudra, Eka Śeṣanāgāvrta
Ai : Aiśvarya varaprada
O/Au : Oṣthapuṭa āśrita Anantadeva, Auṣadhīṣa etc.
aṁ : avāṁmanasagocara Arūpa, amaḷa, amana, ardhámātrā etc.

The author in his euology reaffirms the descriptions of the *Mahābhārat*. His epithet *ulagnanātha* is the *Nagna* and *Mahāśepha* of the Mahābhārat, Abhinava's Śiva is *Vīṇāvādanapriya* and we have in the *Mahābhārat* epithets like Veṇavī, Tumbavīṇah, Paṇa vi etc.

It is interesting to note here that the author belongs to the Avadhūt tradition. He has taken extra ordinary zeal in orienting Rudra in his faith. So he addresses Rudra in Yogic terminology, i.e. *Golahāṭa maṇḍala gati, niścita sahajānanda, Brahmarandhra nivāsana, Śrīhaṭṭa pāṭanā vihāra, Anāhata nāda, Śiśu veda, Urma dhūmra jyoti jvālā nivāraṇa, ṣodaśa Rudra ḍambaru, ardhamātrā, ṣaṭcakra nivāsin* etc. This is the neo-*Caryā* tradition steeped in esoteric Buddhism which indeed affected the Orissan school of Vaiṣṇavism later.

Since, the prose work is in the style of a fiction, the author has coloured the atmosphere in sensuous descriptions wherever possible. He has taken advantage of Śiva's dalliance with Pārvatī, Yoginīs and Nāgakanyās.

While summing up, we may conclude that by 16th C. Orissa didn't envisage any particular school of Śaivism. It was a period of religious transition. The neo-Vaiṣṇavism was soon gaining popular support and in fact, the atmosphere was changed later after the advent of Śrī Caitanya and his followers at Puri from Bengal. Nārāyan Avadhūta Swāmī while composing his masterpiece at the Ekāmra Kṣetra couldn't free himself from the spell of Harihara cult and overimposing impact of Lord Bāsudeva in the Ananta Basudeva Temple at Bhubaneśwar.

The Composite Forms of Siva in the Temple Art of Orissa

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Saivisam had a long and popular career in Orissa. Inscriptions, Siva temples, Saivite images on Orissan temples indicate the widespread prevalence of Saivism in Orissa. In the 5th-6th century A.D., the Nala Kings such as Bhavallaverman and Arthapeti are mentioned as bestowed with royalty by Maheśvara. The Asanpet stone inscription (5th-6th century) depicts an eight-armed Nataraja Siva indicating the existence of a Saiva centre at Asanpet in Keonjhar district. Gopacandra, known from Jayarāmpur (Dist. Balasore) Copper Plate was a devotee of Maheśvara. Sambhuyasas of Maudgalakula was a Parama Māheśvara. The Śailodbhava rulers professed Saivism. The Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect of Saivism, was quite popular in Orissa and Lakulīśa images are found on Orissan temples. The verse of Orissa is dotted with Siva temples, and various manifestations of Siva are found on different Siva temples of Orissa. Besides these several composite forms are known indicating cult syncretism.

The major composite forms include Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Hara Brahmā, Hara Sūrya, Mārttanda Bhairava etc..

(i) Mukhalingas

In addition to the Siva-lingas in the sanctum, there are a few examples of *mukhha-lingas* illustrating the fusion of phallic and anthropomorphic figure of Siva. The examples of *ekamukha-linga* i.e. one face of adhering to the linga-pillar, occur at Mukhalingam and Jajpur (in the Trilocaneśvara compound). There are four-faced *Caturmukha* lingas at Jajpur and Sitabhinji; while two such figures, recovered from Bindusāgar can be seen in the Bhavani Samkar compound. Such composite forms admirably effect the identification of Siva and the *linga*, his symbol. The convention of depicting Siva with face, in the *mukhalinga* aspect, can be traced back to Bhita ascribable to 2nd century B.C..

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(ii) **Ardhanārīśvara**

The easy representation of Ardhanārīśvara figure belongs to the Kushana age and hails from Mathura. Ardhanārīśvara figures showing Siva on right half and Pārvatī on the left, symbolising divine bi-unity, is a popular composite motif on Orissa temples. Iconographically the Ardhanārīśvara form conforms to the description given in the *Saivite Agamas* with the right half representing Siva and left half representing Pārvatī. The right half of the figure shows *urdhvalinga* and other features of Siva while the left displays characteristic features of Pārvatī including a prominent breast. The earliest representation of Ardhanārīśvara occurs at Vaital temple which belongs to 8th century A.D. The composite bi-sexual figures of Ardhanārīśvara are also found at Simhanāth, Jajpur, Mukhalingam (in Madhukeśvara and Somesvara temples), Khiching, Patnagarh and Khilor. At Bhubaneswar such figures occur, besides Vaitāl, on Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Brahmeśvara and Lingarāja. After 11th century, however, Ardhanārīśvara appears very rarely on Orissan temples. There are a few examples of dancing Ardhanārīśvaras, from Paraśurāmeśvara and Mukteśvara.

(iii) **Hari-Hara**

The fusion of Saivism with Vaiṣṇavism led to the Hari-Hara figure where half of Siva's body was fused with half of Hari's body. The composite figure of Hari-Hara, shows Siva on the right half and Hari takes the place of Pārvatī on the left. References to this composite form occur in the *Harivaṁśa* and in the Puranas such as *Kūrma*, Linga and *Vāyu*. The iconography seemed to have taken shape during the Kushana age. The earliest available Hari-Hara images are assignable to the Gupta Age and come from Vidisa and Mathura. On Orissan temples, the images of Hari-Hara appear on the Śatrughneśvara (7th century), Paraśurāmeśvara (7th century), Śiśireśvara (8th century), Simhanātha (9th century). At Mukhalingam Hari-Hari is depicted on the Madhukeśvar and the Someśvara temple. There is a detached figure of Hari-Hara in the Lingaraja compound, with right half of the image showing *urdhvalinga* and other attributes of Siva, while the left half representing Viṣṇu displays the characteristics of Viṣṇu.

(iv) **Śiva-Sūrya**

The close connection between Śiva and Sūrya is brought out in composite figures of Śiva-Sūrya. The *Ekāmra* Purāna identifies Śiva with Sūrya while prescribing the prayer of Bhāskareśvara Śiva of Bhubaneswar.

Śiva-Sūryāgni murtte Visvamurtte Vibhāvaka :

The *Ādityahṛdaya* declares that 'There is no difference between Āditya and Śiva, one should know Āditya as Śiva and Śiva as Āditya. A chlorite image discovered from Konark temple, now kept in the site museum at Konark, can be identified as a Śiva-Sūrya image. The deity stands on a *triratha* chariot drawn by seven horses with Aruna in front of the deity. The god has four hands; the two upper hands (now missing) evidently carried lotus flowers. The deity holds a trident in his lower right hand while the lower left hand is in the *varada* pose.

Seated images of Hara-Sūrya are also placed below the *amla* in some temples such as Lingaraja and Konark.

(v) **Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava**

The Mārttaṇḍa Bhairava images are unique from the point of view of iconography. Above the lowest tier of the *Jagamohana* of Konark temple, on each face of the *raha* there are two life-sized representations of the Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava. The images on the western side have disappeared but six others, on the north, south and the east, have survived. Each image is four headed and six armed. The terrific aspect of the god is emphasized by the portouding teeth, the hair arranged in the fashion of a flame, the *Kapālamālā* reaching down the knees and the snake *upavita*. The deity dances on a boat and carries various attributes such as Skull Cup, *Khatvanga*, mace, *damaru*, trident, wheel etc. The figure can be identified as Mārttaṇḍa Bhairava on the basis of *Hayaśīrṣa Pancarātra* which describes the form as follows :

> Ṣaḍbhujaṁ sāgarodbhutaṁ kamalopari saṁsthitaṁ /
> Naukāmāruhyadeveśaṁ nṛtyābhinaya saṁsthitaṁ //
> Nānāpraharaṇopetaṁ ḍaṁṣṭrāḷaṁ vyāditānanaṁ /
> Bhrūkutī Kuṭilāsyaṁ tu suvisphārita locanaṁ /
> Nāgabaddhajaṭājuṭaṁ muṇḍamālābibhūṣitaṁ /
> Cakraṁ triśūlaṁ pātram ca dadyad gadāṁ khatvāṅga mevaca //

Besides the composite form of Sūrya and Bhairava, a rare detached figure at the Dakṣiṇesvera temple in Puri district combines Śiva-Sūrya and Viṣṇu and their attributes. The Aja Ekapada figures noticed on Orissan temples, may be considered composite forms as these combine aspects of Rudra-Śiva and Agni.